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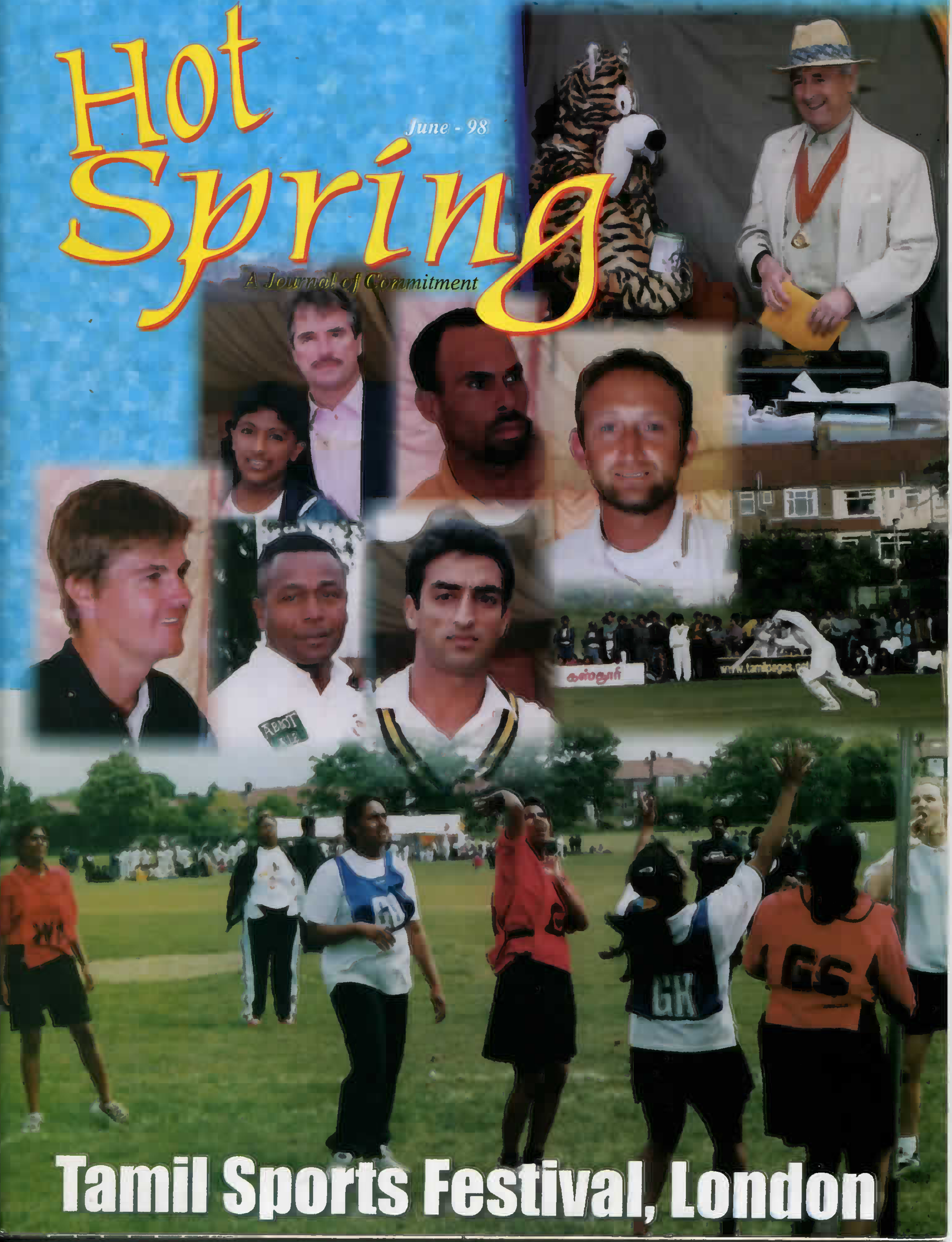
# Hot Spring

*June - 98*

A Journal of Commitment



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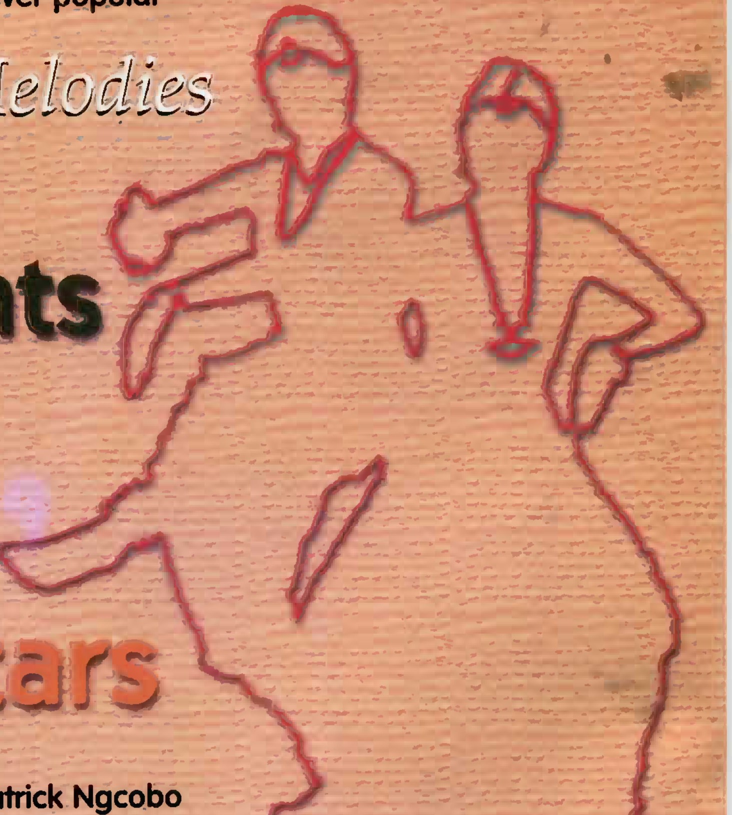

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Thousands of Tamils are being massacred and raped in Sri Lanka.
Don't just sympathise with the cause

# DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT ! ! !

Hot Spring
A Journal of commitment

Vol: 3 N°: 4 June 1998

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**S.Sivanayagam**

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*Editorial Comment*

# Madame President, your mask is slipping!

It is nearing four years now since Mrs.Chandrika Kumaratunga assumed power as Executive President of a war-weary Sri Lanka. What a cherubic face she presented to the world then ! An angel of peace come to rescue the country out of more than ten years of war and strife, and rid the country of 17 years of what she implied was the dirty politics of the UNP! It was such a convincing piece of political theatre that the Tamils who had never seen durable peace in their lives for 38 years after her father introduced racist policies into the political system, they even named the bangles sold in the bazaars of Jaffna as "Chandrika bangles" - something she mentioned with pride in an interview she gave an Indian journal. She even boasted that she was the only Sinhalese leader to be greeted by the LTTE when she assumed office, little realising that it was as much an expression of goodwill on the part of the Tigers towards a Sinhalese leader who had for the first time professed the need for peace.

Shortly before the presidential election of November 1994, (she was already the Prime Minister then), Mrs.Kumaratunga gave an interview to Colombo's *SUNDAY OBSERVER* (Nov.6). "I feel very guilty", she said, reflecting on the twin pressures of performing up to party and national expectations as a politician on the one hand, and social expectations as a single parent of a growing son and daughter. "It is a kind of divided loyalties between my children and politics... They (the children) are terrified. They keep telling me to get out of politics". What patriotic urge to save the country on one hand and what maternal feelings towards her children who need her motherly care! And a helpless widow at that (Did they teach theatrical arts too at the Sorbonne University in Paris?). Now what was the image she was trying to project about herself? The country needed her. The children needed her. The LTTE wanted her. Even the Jaffna people needed her-for their bangles. The cause of Peace needed her. So what was she to do, when overwhelmed by human needs from every quarter? Stand for the office of executive presidency, about which office the

*(continued on page 3)*

# What They Say

"The Colombo media is indeed racist. It will not think twice before identifying a man as a Tamil or a Muslim, even if he is not connected with any terrorist offence. Even THE ISLAND which came as close as any newspaper could to being a model of objectivity in relation to the ethnic conflict during its early days under the editorship of Vijitha Yapa, has today degenerated so much that its decline is too frightening to contemplate".

*- SUNDAY OBSERVER editorial June 7. The SUNDAY OBSERVER is edited by Ajit Samaranayake.*

* * * * *

"Air Lanka was sold for a song and six air buses are to be purchased without even calling for tenders. The sellout of our once proud national carrier, Air Lanka, is perhaps the biggest sellout in Sri Lanka's history".

*- Anura Bandaranaike, quoted in SUNDAY LEADER, June 7.*

* * * * *

"It is high time that the Tamil M.P.s who have been piously supporting the periodical extension of the Emergency reconsider their stand in the light of the fact that all news from the war front is being denied to the people".

*- former TELO M.P. N.Sri Kantha, quoted in THE ISLAND, June 7.*

* * * * *

"One of the important social effects of the war has been the displacement of large numbers of persons from their normal habitats and the resultant psycho-social disturbances. There are large numbers of children up to the age of 10 who have known no life other than in refugee camps".

*- The late Charles Abeyesekera, in an earlier article he wrote, now reproduced in the SUNDAY OBSERVER of 7 June.*

* * * * *

"Seen as a sychophant by many Tamil people. Kadirgamar found himself the darling of the Sinhalese masses

*- "Roving Correspondent" writing in the SUNDAY LEADER, Colombo, June 7*

* * * * *

"I challenge all these self-proclaimed Sinhala heroes who are oozing with domination fervour, that none of them can historically prove that a Sinhala race ever existed in ancient Sri Lanka. Neither can they prove that Sri Lanka was ever ruled by a Sinhala race. Neither can they prove that the so-called Sinhala New Year was celebrated in this country before the British era".

*- Concluding para of a letter written by a Sinhalese writer V.R.de Silva of Rajagiriya, SUNDAY LEADER, May 31*

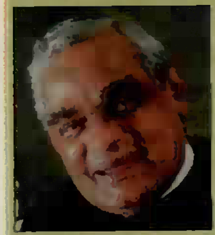
* * * * *

"The government decided to impose censorship because soldiers and officers in the battlefield had asked for it. The main objective of the military censorship is to avoid getting the information passed on to the enemy before the operations are conducted".

*- Sri Lanka's Deputy Defence Minister "General" Anuruddha Ratwatte tells Parliament on June 10.*

* * * * *

## International



"The countries that have stockpiled nuclear weapons should first do away with them and then sermonise others.... The countries that have imposed sanctions should not be under the impression that they can thrust their views on India".

*- Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, speaking in the Indian Rajya Sabha on June 11.*

* * * * *

"She didn't give a damn about her daughter.. She's a snob. She thinks she is the Queen of Sheba, and she's not a good mother either".

*- Egyptian multi-millionaire and Dodi's dad, Mohamed Al Fayed, on Princess Diana's mother, Frances Shand Kydd.*

* * * * *

"REPTILE! He had revealed himself as a heartless creep by attacking Diana's grief-stricken mum".

*- the British tabloid paper THE SUN on Al Fayed's comments.*

* * * * *

"This is India, and not Bihar".

*- Mr.Vaiko, (V.Gopalaswamy) amidst pandemonium, in India's Lok Sabha, when Laloo Prasad Yadav demanded that his question asked in Hindi, be replied to, in the same language.*

* * * * *

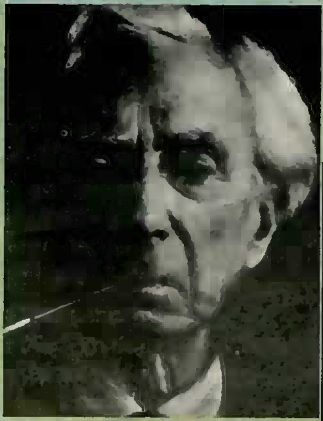
"All hands must be on deck to move this nation forward. I will address the nation in due course".

*- the new military ruler of Nigeria, General Abubakar, who succeeded General Sani Abacha, in his first public words as head of state.*

* * * * *

late unlamented first occupant Junius Richard Jayewardene, once bragged:- "I have the power to do anything except change a man into a woman or a woman into a man". One week after Mrs. Kumaratunga gave that moving interview to the *SUNDAY OBSERVER*, the country gave her an unprecedented massive vote of 62 per cent. That was exactly what she wanted.

*We don't know how far that is correct, but British philosopher Bertrand Russell once averred (in his book POWER) that in human beings the urge for power was stronger than even the sexual urge! Politicians belonging as they do to a breed different from ordinary human beings, the urge for power must be even more stronger - not that sexual appetites in them could be too far behind, as is being illustrated by a well-known practitioner of such superpower activity elsewhere.*



*Bertrand Russell*
*"The urge for Power"*

The pledge for Peace apart, one other zealous promise made by Mrs.Kumaratunga on taking office was the very abolition of the office of executive presidency. She said:- "Convinced as we are of the gravely harmful effects of the Executive Presidential system of Government and the vigour and vitality of the democratic way of life of our people, we have solemnly pledged to eradicate this BLEMISH from the Constitution of our country".

Strong words they are. Nearly four years have passed since that "solemn pledge" was made, in the presence of what the *SUNDAY OBSERVER* reported" a galaxy of Cabinet Ministers, Parliamentarians, diplomats, and distinguished invitees in the chamber of the old Parliament". Could she have really meant what she said.? Assessing the track record of the person in question, one could safely assume she did not. Even otherwise, can anyone, except a congenital simpleton, believe that a politician would willingly give up that kind of power, particularly when given by popular electorate in what would be conceded as a democratic exercise? Hitler did not do so in the thirties, neither did Mitterrand in France later, although the latter, like the Sri Lankan President was a critic of the excessive power concentrated in the office of an executive president.

According to Nixon, Mitterrand is reported to have told him:- *"We didn't like it when he was in (meaning De Gaulle), but we like it much better now that we are in"*. Substitute the name Jayewardena instead of De Gaulle, and we have what madame president is telling herself.

The world did not notice it, but the mask was begining to slip even as she was feeling the warmth of the presidential throne. She was no longer the Chandrika Kumaratunga (the name of her dead husband, a non-racist, liberal Christian who had more decency in him than in the ranks of the Kandyan aristocracy); she was emerging as a full-blooded Bandaranaike, the offspring of two Prime Ministers who between them made life hell for the Tamils whenever they were in power. Madame Chandrika has also the habit of earning sympathy by repeating that pathetic story of why she abhors violence because she had been in the personal witness of violence at her own doorstep; her father was the victim of assassination and so was her husband Kumaratunga. Apart from the fact that she has today become the biggest perpetrator of violence against the Tamils in the living history, it is worth remembering for posterity that the assassins in both instances were Sinhalese, and in the case of her father, no less a murderer than a Buddhist monk who had a revolver tucked among the yellow robes of his non-violent Buddhist faith.

*Mitterrand*

The moral of all these is that play-acting is a very necessary component of political life. It is fatal to say what you mean publicly, or mean what you say to the world at large. It is a world of meaningless soundbites and mere superficialities: the word PEACE for example. If you keep on throwing the word around all the time, as the Sri Lankan President does, you can get away with blue murder, as she does. You can even say that it is a war for peace, as she does. The world will still applaud her for her courageous efforts in trying to bring peace. And there are enough rich international financier uncles in Tokyo, Manila, Paris and Washington to help out a poor widow in her avowed intention to pursue peace! We live in a world where a touch of madness is required in order to maintain sanity! That is it.

*S. Sivanayagam*

**FLASH!**

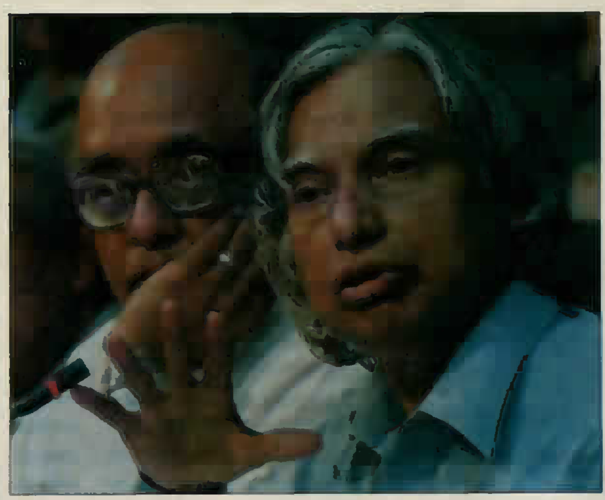
## Paskaralingam cleared of charge

The Supreme Court in Sri Lanka has upheld the appeal of Mr. R Paskaralingam and cleared him of all charges, in the case in which a Presidential Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Chandrika Kumaratunga government found him guilty of "misuse of power". Mr. Paskaralingam was the former Secretary to the Treasury under the late President Premadasa.

The findings of the Commission of Inquiry stand cancelled and invalidated.

# INDIA'S TAMIL NUCLEAR TEAM

# A Muslim Tamil is a national hero



*Dr. Kalam (and on left) Dr. Rajagopal*

It is perhaps not widely known that practically all the top scientists and engineers who were responsible for India's nuclear tests were - TAMILS ! From Dr.Rajagopal Chidambaram, Chairman of the Department of Atomic Energy to Dr.A.P.J.Abdul Kalam, head of the Defence Research and Development Organisation, down to Dr.Santhanam and many others, they are all from Tamil Nadu. The most flamboyant and colourful out of them all is AVUL PAKIR JAINULABDEEN ABDUL KALAM, who started life from small beginnings in the island of Dhanushkodi in the deep south of Tamil Nadu.

Here are excerpts from a pen portrait of the man written by John. F.Burns for the NEW YORK TIMES:

"...An impish, shaggy-haired bachelor, Mr.Kalam is widely regarded as the central figure in India's drive to join the small club of nuclear-armed nations.

"Mr.Kalam, 66, has never hidden the passion for a powerful India that has driven him since he was growing up in a poor family on the coast of Tamil Nadu. Among colleagues, a new word "kalamitous" was coined to capture the outspokenness with which Mr.Kalam greeted each new delay in the tests, or in getting the money to develop the missiles to deliver nuclear bombs.

"When he returned to New Delhi over the weekend from the test site in Rajasthan, Mr.Kalam found himself a national hero, applauded and besieged for autographs, though the tests drew widespread condemnation in the rest of the world.

"We must think and act like a nation of a billion people, and not like that of a million people", he said. "Dream, dream, dream! Conduct these dreams into thought, and then transform them into action".........

"Like the captain of India's international cricket team, like some of India's top generals and newspaper editors and diplomats, like many of its top film makers and artists, Mr.Kalam is one of the 120 million Muslims in a nation of 700 million Hindus. -

**"Though Mr.Kalam is an observant Muslim, his attitudes and tastes speak of his immersion in the broader culture of India. He has published poems in Tamil, his first language. And one of his pastimes in his modest walk-up apartment in New Delhi is plucking a VEENA, a stringed instrument with a curved musical box at each end that is associated with Shiva, a Hindu god who is regarded as both creator and destroyer.**

"According to one Indian biography, Mr.Kalam knows by heart sections of the best known Hindu sacred book, the Bhagavad Gita. If so, this would give him another link to Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who led the team that tested the first American bomb, in the New Mexico desert on July 16,1945. According to some accounts, after the predawn flash signaled the birth of the atomic age, Mr.Oppenheimer quoted a line attributed to Shiva in the Bhagavad Gita: "Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds".

"Avul Pakir Jainulabdeen Abdul Kalam was born on October 15, 1931, in Dhanushkodi, an island off Tamil Nadu, where his father rented a boat to fishermen who worked the narrow strait between India and what was then Ceylon, now Sri Lanka...

"Mr.Kalam has said his ambition was fired by an article about the Supermarine Spitfire, Britain's front-line fighter during World War II, that he read as a small boy delivering a local Tamil newspaper.

"Later, he studied aeronautical engineering at the Madras Institute of Technology, but did not attempt a doctorate. (He has since garnered many honorary degrees).

"His only extended period abroad came when he was part of a fiveman Indian team invited to spend four months visiting space research centers in the United States in the early 1960s, during the first years of the American manned space program.

"Several of the Indian scientists who led the nuclear test team including Rajagopal Chidambaram, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, did postgraduate studies in the United States, as have many of the scientists who have worked on Pakistan's nuclear program.

"But Mr.Kalam has insisted that India has achieved its successes in missile development and bomb-building substantially unaided,' apart from some early assistance in rocketry from the United States and the Soviet Union.

"As for himself, he says, "I am completely indigenous!". ❑

# Lakshman Kadirgamar, Tyro with a Mission.

Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism, it's armed forces and the racist government that represents them have a voluble spokesman in Lakshman Kadirgamar, the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka. He calls himself a Tamil but if you are born in our ethnic group and then destroy your ethnicity by consorting with outsiders, you commit treason and cannot call yourself a Tamil anymore (*Suthanthira Paravaikal, Issue No. 1, 1991*).

Sri Lanka's foreign policy lacks credibility and significance. It has no positive features and reflects the government's ambitious programme of marginalising the Tamils. Sri Lanka's majority rule does not uphold democratic ideals, it constitutes a veritable tyranny of the majority. It's present strategy of peace through war is not only untenable but immoral and irrational. The foreign policy goals are twofold:

1) Curtailing or strangling LTTE activities abroad.

2) Securing foreign financial and military assistance to sustain the war for the suppression of the Tamils.

Whether Sri Lanka has a permanent friend is a moot point. Her friends serve the hour and the event. Since the Sinhala Independence of 1948 the Foreign Ministry had been preserve of the head of the government. In 1977 J. R. Jayawardene appointed A. C. S. Hameed as Sri Lankan's first Foreign Minister. That he is a Muslim did not worry J. R. but Moraji Desai, the Indian Prime Minister who visited Colombo in 1979 was quite upset that this important position was not occupied by a Sinhalese. (Vide J. R. Jayawardene of Sri Lanka. Vols. 1 & 2 by K. M. De Silva and Howard Wriggins.)

President Chandrika emulated J. R. in her choice of foreign minister. Kadirgamar was well recommended and possessed personal qualities that suited the job. **He has no identity crisis to bother him. His forbears are from the North who migrated to Colombo's melting pot during the height of the British rule. With a collegiate career in Kandy's Trinity and Oxford he is ideally suited to merge with the Sinhalese ruling classes. His proclaimed ignorance of both Tamil and Sinhala languages are additional advantages.** (It's whispered that his very recent marriage to a Sinhala woman is for reasons of learning her language at close proximity.)

### By
### K. Kanavathipillai

*(K. Kanavathipillai is the former Asst. Under Secretary of the IBRD)*

The tragedy of Sri Lanka is that the rights of the Tamil man will be recognised only after the country is divided into two. No matter which Sinhala political party comes to power the Tamils are the ultimate losers. Sri Lanka is a terrorist state conducting a cruel war against the Tamil people. Very little notice is taken of the thousands who are dying without proper medicines, food and shelter from the elements. Sudden death visits them in the form of bombs and shells.

It is very wrong to say that the foreign minister is ignorant of the plight of the Tamils. On the contrary he takes an active role in obstructing the flow of humanitarian assistance to this people. During the mass exodus of 5 lakhs (500,000) of people from Jaffna in 1995 following Riviresa, the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appealed for international assistance to relieve human suffering. Kadirgamar stressed on the letter of the law and insisted that it was a simple internal displacement that could be managed locally. Though NGO's tried their best to help, hundreds of people perished of hunger and disease between November 1995 and April 1996.

That Kadirgamar is an untruthful manipulator is well known. Last year Bandaranaike called him a liar straight to his face in parliament in connection with Kadirgamar's role in the corrupt Tawakalle deal. The Minster took it lying down.

The same year (1997) in response to a complaint from New Delhi regarding the killing of a handful of Indian fishermen by a combined SL Air Force and Navy unit he coolly said that it was the work of the LTTE. The survivors of the attack, however identified the helicopter gunships as those of Sri Lanka.

As for cover-up operations Kadirgamar has no rivals. Immediately after the bombing of the Nagarkoil schoolhouse by a puccara bomber the UNICEF condemned the government for the death of over 40 school children. The UNICEF relied on information given by the ICRC. The minister denied the incident and admonished the UNICEF for relying on information given by third parties.

The bombing of the Navali St. Peter's church is graphically described in The *Time* of 31-07-95. Operation Leap forward began at dawn on July 9th 1995. The Sinhala military warned the Tamil civilians to get out of the areas south-west of Palay recommending churches and temples as sanctuaries. At 4.30pm of the same day a pucker bomber flew towards Navali 3Km away from the combat zone and bombed the said church. More than 250 men, women and children huddled inside were killed. Many more were critically injured. Foreign ministry sources as usual denied the bombing but the local ICRC bore witness.

Targeting civilian centres and taking the war to the civilians is time-honoured norm in Sri Lanka. A recent estimate reveals that more than 1800 Hindu places of worship had been destroyed or damaged by bombs and shells. Figures regarding churches are not yet available. The government is going all out to destroy the people or at least drive them out of their homelands. Once driven out of their lands they will have no leg to stand on, become rootless bereft of their identity.

Kadirgamar's place in our history is well entrenched. He is an unredeemed traitor relentlessly engaged in conducting "Black propaganda" against the Tamil people in general and the LTTE in particular. The hatred he bears towards them both, borders on xenophobia.

TEACHING HOSPITAL JAFFNA

*The Jaffna Teaching Hospital: A mojor portion of the hospital is reserved for the army*

In May 1996 while awarding scholarships for 100 children of disabled Sinhala servicemen Kadirgamar made a landmark speech whereby he assumed the additional roles of PR man and image maker of the military. In course of his oration he declared that:

a) the army's relations with the people of the North has reached a level of excellence, never seen before.

b) the ongoing war is not between the Tamil and Sinhalese peoples,

c) the children of the North are taken by force by the LTTE to fight the war,

d) he was bringing a civil servant from New York to rescue the helpless Tamil children from the clutches of the LTTE.

**In the course of the same deluge of words the foreign minister said that he was proud of the civilised transformation of the Sinhala armed forces and hereafter "he could look the world in the eye". It is imperative that the fellow should not go unchallenged, he is thriving on falsehoods and inventions.**

All the security arrangements of the Sinhala armed forces in the occupied areas of the north-east are for their own benefit only. The Tamil public do not come into consideration. The civilians are made to suffer severe privations and indignities. They are made to dismount in front of every checkpoint they chance to pass. There is no freedom of movement. The night curfew is still on. The people live in fear of the soldiers. They are apt to be assaulted, arrested or made to disappear at any given moment of time.

On 12-04-98 soldiers who were unwilling to leave Jaffna for the Jeya Sikurui battlefront burst a few grenades in the heart of the Jaffna town during shopping hours. A mother of three young children died on the spot, 7 people were seriously injured. The miscreants wanted to impress on their superiors that their stay in Jaffna was an absolute necessity, such incidents for the same perverted reason had happened in Batticaloa town also.

The ban on the night time fishing in the coastal waters of the peninsula is still on. Fishing is allowed in the day at a short distance from the coast where fish is scarce. The government hospitals are not functioning properly. Under staffed, under-equipped and badly maintained they cannot cope with the needs of the people. A major portion of the Jaffna Teaching hospital is reserved for the army. There is no civil administration in the North. Martial law prevails as it does in Trincomallee and Batticaloa.

The UN Human Rights Commission in its 54th session held in

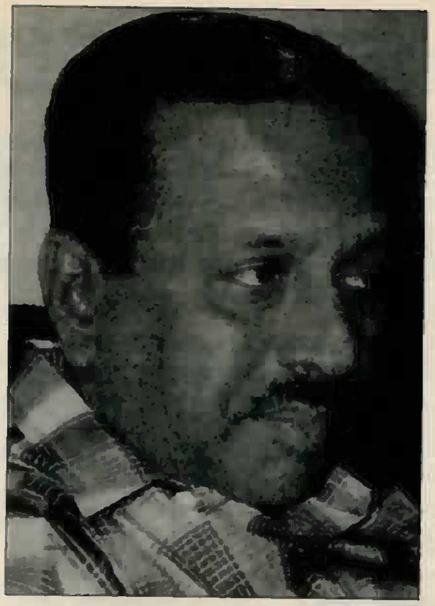
Geneva condemned the Human Rights violations of the Sinhala armed forces. Amnesty International has identified Sri Lanka as the country with the largest recorded volume of Human Rights violations in the world. AI also reported that a promise by the Sri Lankan government "that action would be taken to reduce instances of human rights violations against the Tamil people" had not been kept.

In April 1998 the Jaffna based NGO's reported that the local people are tired and exhausted from the daily grind of roundups, house to house searches, control on free movement and the night time curfew. On 25-04-98 the Jaffna Citizens Committee complained to the Jaffna commandant, Major General Lionel Balagalle that army atrocities have increased and females especially do not feel safe due to instances of rape and sexual harassment.

The same committee also complained that the armed forces are encouraging social degradation. **Over 100 mini-cinema halls are operating in Jaffna Town and its suburbs. Blue films are shown in all these establishments without any age restrictions and the viewers. Unlicensed bars have sprung up everywhere. The manufacture of illicit brews goes on with the blessings of the armed forces.**

The damage to the environment is heavy. More than two lakhs (200,000) of palmyrah and coconut palms had been cut down for making bunker covers and security points. The peninsula is down for making bunker covers and security points. The peninsula is turning into a wasteland. In the Pungudutivu area both the Sinhala army and its sister organisation, the EPDP are cutting down palmyrah trees on a massive scale.

**In Thenmaradcy this year a deaf and dumb woman was raped by four Sinhala soldiers. When a complaint was made to him Lionel Balagala laughed it off. On 14-04098 a woman who had accidentally witnessed rape by two soldiers was burnt to death by pouring a can of petrol on her body. This happened in broad daylight in the main street, Point Pedro.**



*Maj.Gen. Lionel Balagalle: Gang rape of a deaf and dumb woman was a laughing matter for him*

**The Sinhala state refuses to pursue, prosecute and punish military personnel accused of violence against Tamil civilians.**

That is not all. The buildings of the Chavakachcherri Public Library have been taken over by the Sinhala police forces. The books are now scattered. The Jaffna YMCA buildings are under army occupation. The Jaffna Public Library opening on Thai Pongal day is now proved to be a sham as it is closed permanently.

Due to the pressure exerted on the government by local and international humanitarian organisations, especially the Guardian Association for persons arrested and disappeared, President Chandrika appointed a committee into disappearances, headed by a senior retired civil servant. The other members of the committee are Marshall KGA Pieris, rear Admiral D. K. Dissanayake and Senior Dig. Of Police P. B. Eknayake not a single Tamil was found fit enough to serve on this committee.

The complaint of the Guardian Association is that 756 persons had disappeared after arrests by the Sinhala armed forces. The above committee has recently finalised its report and ceremonially presented it to the President. The report says that 16 Tamils may have disappeared. Both Chandrika and Kadirgamar are delighted with the findings.

In the East the STF commandos are a law unto themselves. Every Sunday thousands of Tamils, young and old, males and females have to present themselves in the premises of the nearest STF camp for a roll-call. Absentees are punished mercilessly. Cleaning the grounds, lavatories, gathering firewood, fencing, cutting bunkers are some of the menial labours allotted to them. Shirkers are beaten to a pulp. Women are marked for late night visits. Kadirgamar's fellow MP, Joseph Parajasingam has brought this to the notice of the President. But so far nothing seems to have happened.

The colonisation of Tamil areas under the aegis of the military is going on even today. Sinhala colonisation of Tamil areas started in the 1940's. this changed and distorted the demography. The distortion is further aggravated by the fact that large numbers of Tamils have fled from their homes due to persecution by the Sinhalese. This is a phenomenon in Trincomallee, Batticaloa, Pottuvil, Manal Aru etc. The extension of Sinhala colonisation schemes is now a military activity.

The new commander of Vadamaratchy has declared an open war on the people of the district. He has ordered his minions to use loudspeakers and announce his message that the entire population of the district is held responsible for the untimely death of his predecessor, Brigadier Larry Wijeratne. He has also announced that he will mete out suitable punishment to the Vadamaratchy people. For a starter he has started house to house search in the night.

Brigadier Sanath Karunaratne, the Vadamaratchy commander is the same person who drove out the Tamil inhabitants of Upparu when he was serving in Trincomallee. A true blue Sinhala Buddhist fanatic he had ordered his subordinates to shoot and kill anyone returning to Upparu for picking up household necessities or for removing their livestock.

**In Kadirgamar's lexicon these are instances of the "excellent" mutual relations that have developed between the Tamil people and the Sinhala military. The stooge is now busy spreading a canard that the LTTE is forcing young Tamil children into their ranks. This is a highly motivated propaganda exercise. "A false accusation is as deadly as a sword, a club or a sharp arrow" proverb 25.**

The empty words of heart breaking concern for the welfare of the Tamil people that flows effortlessly from Kadirgamar does not deceive anyone. It is timely to ask where this worm was hiding when more than 5,000 Tamil people - men, women and children were arrested in the city of Colombo and its suburbs during the first week of April 1998. 2,000 Tamil youths of whom 500 are girls were arrested in Kotahena and Kochchikadai alone. All these innocent people were locked up with common criminals without bathroom and lavatory facilities.

The war against the Tamil people is for political domination, to keep the Tamils in permanent bondage. This can be achieved only by defeating the LTTE. The LTTE is a national organisation representing the entire Tamil population. Without the LTTE there won't be a Tamil homeland or a Tamil people in this island. The LTTE has succeeded in reviving the temporary dormant warrior traditions of the Tamils. People of the stamp of Kadirgamar represent the degenerate elements.

Mr V. Prabaharan, the national leader of Thermal Eelam said on November 27, 1997 "it is the Sinhalese chauvinists who have taken away the rights of the Tamils, who have denied any just solution to the Tamil problem, who had militarily suppressed all democratic attempts to form a separate government. It is they who are opposed to peace not we Tamils."

Regarding the matter of "forcing young Tamil children into battle" let me quote a foreign critic of the LTTE who unlike Kadirgamar observed the organisation at close range "while this author can confirm that messengers and guards often looked extremely young, it will be argued why the reproach of forced recruiting at least sounds unlikely." Vide. The Tamil Tigers armed struggle for identity by Dagmar Hellman-Rajanayagam page 40.

> *The long succession of wars has brought the Sinhala state to the point of exhaustion. Its army is the laughing stock of the world. More than 25,000 soldiers have become deserters. Alternating threats and amnesties have not brought them back. There are talks of recruiting Sinhala school children into the army. Compulsory military service for Sinhalese males between ages 18 and 30 is about to come into force.*

"It is actually an honour to be a member of the LTTE and this membership is not open to everybody, given this structure of the movement, one should not go in for forced recruitment as has been alleged, since it would be extremely difficult to foster this commitment among forced recruits." IBID page 60.

The mysterious civil servant whom Kadirgamar referred to in his May 1998 speech happened to be Mr Olara Ottunu, former foreign minister of Uganda and special representative of the UN Secretary General on children and armed conflicts. Kadirgamar hoped to win a diplomatic coup but the envoy's visit was a victory for the LTTE. Ottunu was able to see in person the condition of the Tamil children due to the state imposed embargo on food and medicines and the bombing and shelling of civilian targets.

Mr Ottunu refused to fall in line with Sinhala aspirations. To the consternation of the foreign minister of Sri Lanka he recommended that the national conflict be settled with third party mediation. This is a blow from which Kadirgamar will take a long time to recover. When Olaru Ottunu visited occupied Jaffna Dr S. Jebanesan, Jaffna Bishop of the church of South India rubbed salt into Kadirgamar's wounds.

In his testimony to the UN envoy the bishop said " unrest and discontent prevails in the occupied peninsula. The military administration has effectively taken over the peninsula and its civil administration."

The long succession of wars has brought the Sinhala state to the point of exhaustion. Its army is the laughing stock of the world. More than 25,000 soldiers have become deserters. Alternating threats and amnesties have not brought them back. There are talks of recruiting Sinhala school children into the army. Compulsory military service for Sinhalese males between ages 18 and 30 is about to come into force.

The recent bomb tests in India and Pakistan have placed Sri Lanka in an awkward position. Diplomatically it is caught between the scylla of India and the combined charybdis of the USA, China and Pakistan. A client state of the US, Sri Lanka relies on the other two for military supplies. Yet it cannot offend its neighbour India. Sri Lanka is reduced to the sorry state of offering excuses and explanations to all and sundry. Opportunism does not win all the time.

*Tamil Eelam*
*07-06-98*

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# TAMIL CHILDREN: VICTIMS OF CREEPING GENOCIDE

*A statement issued by the Action Group of Tamils in Colombo (AGOTIC)*
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The Sri Lankan regime has whipped up a campaign about Tamil child combatants. At the same time the regime has continued to slaughter and maim Tamil children. They are innocent victims of the grotesque war unleashed by the Sri Lankan regime. The densely populated civilian areas in the Jaffna peninsula have been carpet-bombed and indiscriminately shelled. About seventy-five per cent of the buildings, including houses, temples, churches, mosques and schools have been destroyed. In short, the regime is carrying out a Scorched-Earth policy against Tamils and children have paid heavily with their lives. The Scorched-Earth policy is now being applied in the Vanni where there are approximately five hundred thousand Tamil refugees.

## Dead, Orphaned or disabled

The regime has intensified the bombing and shelling of Tamil civilians with utter disregard for the tragic impact on the Tamil children.

Orphans: Six to ten thousand children have been orphaned.

Death and disability: Thousands of children have either died in the indiscriminate artillery shelling and aerial bombing - often carried out blindly at night - whilst many more are crippled.

Starvation and malnutrition: The severe restrictions on the supply of food, including milk food for infants, imposed in June 1990 has led to widespread starvation. Malnutrition is rampant among Tamil children in the north. In the Mullaitivu District, for example, about 40% of the children suffer from third degree malnutrition.

Acute shortage of medicine: The regime supplies only one-sixth or about sixteen per cent of the medicine urgently needed to treat the existing cases of malaria. Children are the first victims of the shortage of drugs imposed by the regime. Deaths due to malaria are rising rapidly among Tamil children. Severe restrictions on the supply of antibiotics and other essential medicines are leading to more infant and child deaths.

The regime is thus implementing the draconian policy of creeping genocide.

**The scale of the killing is staggering. From 1983 up to now, about sixty thousand are conservatively estimated to have perished in the war. Amnesty International has estimated that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) are responsible at the most for two thousand civilian deaths. According to the regime's own statistics, about fourteen thousand military personnel have died. The number dead among the LTTE is also about fourteen thousand.**

**This means that the regime killed thirty thousand Tamil civilians.**

The main reason for the escalating scale of the carnage is that the Sri Lankan regime is losing the war against the LTTE-led Tamil resistance. The regime is desperate: that which it cannot conquer, it will seek to destroy. Some Sinhalese officials describe the strategy thus: if the LTTE cadre are fish swimming in friendly Tamil waters and we [the regime] are unable to catch the fish, then we will poison the water. In other words, the regime is bent on destroying the Tamil people as a whole.

The Action Group of Tamils in Colombo (AGOTIC) unreservedly condemns the genocide of the Tamil people.

## Armed conflict and Tamil children

The Sri Lankan regime has discovered compassion for the Tamil children allegedly recruited by the LTTE. It is a matter for the LTTE to respond to the regime's allegation.

However, AGOTIC the following points must be noted.

1. Article 38(2) of the United Nations Convention on The Rights of the Child provides that States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilitiesî. We have not seen any evidence to prove that the LTTE induced Tamil children below the age of 15 to take a direct

part in hostilities.

2. The Sri Lankan regime has failed to substantiate its allegation that the LTTE employs children in hostilities: for instance, despite being at war since 1979, the regime has not produced photographic evidence of LTTE cadre killed in battle who could be children.

3. The so-called confession under interrogation of captured Tamil children trotted out by the regime cannot be taken seriously, especially since there is widespread use of torture by the armed forces.

4. **AGOTIC is appalled by the cynical management of information to exonerate the regime and pillory the LTTE.** The regime-owned Sunday Observer (3 May 1998), for example, made no reference to the plight of thousands of Tamil children who are internally displaced or who are dying as a result of the regime's policy of creeping genocide. Instead, the newspaper reported unsubstantiated hearsay information about the alleged recruitment of children by the LTTE.

> *"Escalating carnage because Sri Lanka is losing the war"*

5. Another example is the book titled *Children: the invisible soldiers, by Rachel Brett and Margaret McCallum,* published by the Swedish Save the Children Fund. The authors collected the data through questionnaires sent to selected Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Sri Lanka (and other countries). AGOTIC regrets that the authors did not visit Sri Lanka to verify the data given in the completed questionnaires. No attempt was made to expose the regimeís deliberate policy of creeping genocide of Tamils.

6. Indeed, the Tamil children are most at risk due to the war. However, AGOTIC was shocked to read the AFP report (3 May) that the former UNICEF representative Brita Ostberg focused on LTTE's armed struggle and alleged that if the LTTE does not recruit children, they will have very few fighters.

**But, the crux of the issue is this: the Tamil children are at risk primarily due to the regime waging the genocidal war against the Tamil people. UNICEF must demand that the regime stops the genocide immediately, lifts the restrictions on medical and food supplies and spares the Tamil children.**

The Action Group of Tamils in Colombo (AGOTIC)

*Dr S Sathananthan, Secretary*

# Manipay, Inuvil hospitals appeal for donations

1998 is an important year in the history of the medical mission of the American Ceylon Mission now the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India Two Institutions that have faithfully served the people of Jaffna have reached important milestones in their existence. The Green Memorial Hospital celebrates its 150th anniversary (Founded 1848) as the oldest hospital in Sri Lanka and The Mcleod Hospital for women at Inuvil, its centenary this year.

The Jaffna in which Dr. Samuel Fiske Green founded the hospital at Manipay and in which Dr.Isabella Curr found herself as the first doctor at Mcleod Hospital was of course vastly different to the Jaffna of today. However, in some respects little has changed. Due to the political situation that has existed in Jaffna over the past two decades, the quality and availability of health care has suffered considerably. Our two hospitals too have suffered in their ability to provide quality health care due to lack of medical staff, IOBB of equipment and damage to buildings as a result of the Continuing civil war. This was made worse by the period of displacement in 1995-1996, during which time departments such as laboratory, X - ray and operating room had vital equipment looted in spite of it all these hospitals have provided a vital service to the community even with limited facilities.

In the context of the presed situation in which even the Jaffina Teaching Hospital is struggling to serve the people, these Hospitals have an important role to play. There is an urgent need for greater availability of quality health care in the peninsula outside Jatina Town. By improving the facilities available in these two Hospitals and providing affordable care these Institutions can continue to fulfill the objectives of their founders and serve the community.

In making a public appeal, the Jaffna Diocese of the C.S.I. states:-

"With this in mind we are sending out this appeal to well wishers and friends to raise Rupees Ten Million (£ 100,000 or U.S. Dollars 166,500) to buy equipment, repair buildings and to initiate a Low Cost Care Fund We hope that through your generous contributions we can continue to fulfill the vision of Green and Curr and many like them who served the people of Jaffna We thank God for the past and look forward with hope to the future.

Kindly send your donations to the bank account given below. At the same tirne please notify Dr. (Mrs) C.Arnbalavanar of the amount that you send. An acknowledgement will be sent

*Green Memorial Ter Centenary Fund*
*C/A No. 13458*

*Commercial Bank of Ceylon Limited,*
*Jaffna, Sri Lanka*

Rt. Rev. S.Jebanesan, Bishop C.S.I. Yaddulcoddai.

Dr.C.Ambalavanar, Medical Superintendent, Green Memorial Hospital, Manipay, Sri Lanka. ❑

## 5 TULF councillors quit office

Following the killing of the Jaffna mayor Sarojini Yogeswaran on May 17, five TULF municipal councillors have handed over their resignations. They include the deputy mayor D.Thirunavukkarasu who has now made a public declaration that he supports the liberation struggle of the Tamil people, and V.Paramasivam who was seated with Mrs.Yogeswaran when she was shot. Others to resign were were Mrs. Denita Devial, Philip Anthonypillai and another whose identity has not been revealed.

The TULF is reported to have nominated a man called Sivapalan to be the new mayor. Sivapalan has now requested the government that he given the same security as is given to the Colombo mayor. He has also told a Colombo Tamil daily that no one should think that he has come forward for personal benefit or that he is a stooge of the government.

## Soldiers cremated with military honours

In a search operation conducted by the LTTE in vacated Sri Lankan army positions in Kilinochchi,several arms and ammunitions including an RPG launcher, along with 4 bodies of Sinhala soldiers were discovered. As the bodies were in a decomposed state, they were cremated with full military honours by the LTTE. Earlier, 29 bodies of soldiers killed in Kilinochchi were handed over to the ICRC, according to a news release of the LTTE dated 13th June.

## Vavuniya PLOTE M.P. escapes attack

PLOTE parliamentarian K.Balachandran escaped death narrowly when his house at Pandarikulam, 3 kilometres from Vavuniya town, was attacked by a party of unknown men on June 8. A Sri Lankan policeman on guard duty at the house was killed. Mr.Balachandran was reported to have been smuggled out from the rear of the house by policemen who rushed him to safety to a nearby police station. The attackers had also taken away Mr.Balachandran's van which was later found abandoned a few miles away.

The incident happened in an area controlled by the Sri Lankan army.

# NEWS BRIEFS

## ICRC says 70 bodies handed over by LTTE

According to the B.B.C. news released earlier on June 8, the International Red Cross have been quoted as saying that "the Tamil Tiger rebels in Sri Lanka have handed over to its representatives the bodies of almost seventy Sri Lankan soldiers in the past three days.

"The Red Cross said the troops had been killed in the latest fighting between government troops and the rebels in the north of the country.

"Correspondents say such a large number of government casualties over a short period is unusual.

"The Sri Lanka government has made no comment.

"On Friday it announced total censorship of all domestic and foreign reporting of the fighting"

*(From the newsroom of the BBC World Service).*

## All orphans and widows mostly

A recent survey conducted among the fishing community in the Mullaitivu coast has revealed that the majority of the male members of the community have been killed by the Sinhalese navy. Almost all the women are living in poverty and penury. Their husbands and sons have fallen victims to deliberate attacks by the Sinhala navy while fishing. The fishing settlement is routinely bombarded by navy gun boats as they journey up north. A more staggering fact emerged when a survey was made of children

studying in the local Tamil Iniyan Kudiyiruppu school. There were 30 children in one class in which ALL their fathers have been killed

## Tamil police officer killed in Colombo

Assistant Superintendent of Police Shanthi Kumar died on June 10 following a hand grenade attack on him the previous day. The attack which took place in broad daylight near the Pettah fish market in Colombo is believed to be the handiwork of an underworld gang.

The hand grenade was flung while Shanthi Kumar was being driven in his official car. An eye witness said a person wearing a red helmet was riding a trail motorbike past the ASP's car when the grenade exploded. The police later found that the grenade used was one usually issued to members of the Sri Lankan armed forces.

Shanthi Kumar (44) was from Jaffna and was known for his tough handling of the underworld in Colombo involved in narcotics trade, and contract killings. Shanthi Kumar who was the father of two daughters was cremated on the 13th in Colombo.

## India must act, says Tamil Nadu cyclists

Two Indian businessmen who cycled hundreds of miles to reach New Delhi urged the government on June 13 to impose "sanctions" against Sri

Lanka over its protracted ethnic conflict. The two took 57 days to pedal their way from the southern state of Tamil Nadu and called on Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee with a list of their demands, the United News of India (UNI) reported.

P.Pranavacharya and V.Jayakumar said India should announce trade and economic sanctions against Sri Lanka for continuing a military campaign against Tamil Tiger guerrillas which they said hit the civilians hard. The two began cycling from Neyveli in Tamil Nadu, about 125 miles south-west of Madras, and reached New Delhi via Bangalore, Pune, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Jaipur. The journey follows a concerted campaign by a section of Indian Tamil politicians demanding an end to the military drive against Tamil Tiger guerrillas, states an AFP report from New Delhi.

## Restaurant owner disappears

Nagarajah Thavarajah, the owner of a prominent restaurant in the Vavuniya bus stand area is reported to have disappeared under mysterious circumstances. He had closed the restaurant as usual on the night of 9th June and had left in his scooter for his home at Pandarikulam, according to the complaint made to the police. He was last seen near the clock tower junction around 9.45 p.m. according to the complaint. It was also reported that there had been road checks made around the same time by Sri Lankan armed forces.

## Jaffna trader hacked to death

An ex-president of the Jaffna Traders' Association, S.Namasivayam was hacked to death with swords close to his home at Koddady. Two brothers, Thiyagarajah Sathananthan (23), and ThiyagarajahKugathasan (21), who had previous enmity with the victim, were arrested on suspicion.

Jaffna reports say that the younger brother Kugathasan was an accused in the case in which he was charged with robbing two shops in the town, and the case against him was proceedina.

The victim, Namasivayam who was president of the traders' association at that time is reported to have been responsible for his arrest by army authorities.

Namasivayam was at the time of his death vice-president of the TULF branch in Jaffna was earlier a supporter of PLOTE.

## German tourist robbed & raped

A young tourist woman from Germany was robbed and later raped by two men in Akuressa in south Sri Lanka on June 4. It was reported that the woman who was returning after a sea bath around 11.30 a.m. on that day was accosted by two men who snatched her handbag containing cash and a wrist watch worth Rs.4,000. She was later dragged into a lonely spot and raped by the two men. Although one of the men involved was identified as an army deserter, no arrests were made.

## Sorry, it's the wrong coffin

On June 6 the family of soldier Wasantha Dasanaike from Rambukkana had been informed that he had died in operation Jaya Sikurui.

The family and the village went into mourning with white flags all over. Soon the sealed coffin said to be carrying the remains of soldier Wasantha was brought to the house and the funeral was scheduled for June 9.

Amidst all the weeping and mourning on the eve of the funeral, came a life giving message- soldier Wasantha was not dead but was still alive though injured and warded in the Ragama hospital.

It was another case of mistaken identity.

Soon the military police with lots of 'beg your pardon' arrived to take away the coffin not for cremation but to the correct funeral while Wasantha's family allowed the joy of the good news to prevail over the heart break of a deadly mistake.

## Editor escapes death

A editor of a newspaper highly critical of the Sri Lankan government escaped death when gunmen burst into his home and sprayed the inside with bullets, police said Thursday. Unidentified attackers fired about 40 rounds with automatic assault rifles at Lasantha Wickrematunga as he returned home from a dinner in suburban Nugegoda area on Wednesday night, police said.

"I think it is the work of some one against whom I have been writing recently," Wickrematunga said. Media Minister Mangala Samaraweera, who has been the subject of severe criticism in Wickrematunga's Sunday Leader, condemned the attack and called for a thorough police investigation.

### Condemnations

The Paris-based media rights organisation, Reporters Sans Frontiers (RSF), in a letter to President Chandrika Kumaratunga called for the attackers to be tried and sentenced. "Our organisation asks you to ensure that all journalists can exercise their profession safely," RSF said.

The Editors Guild of Sri Lanka expressed "total disgust" at the attack on the Sunday Leader editor. Wickrematunga had previously been assaulted by unidentified men who had warned him to stop criticising the government. Wickrematunga's Sunday Leader weekly has been vocal in its criticism and exposed alleged corruption in the government.

In February, gun-wielding men broke into the home of Iqbal Athas, a military columnist of another weekend newspaper, The Sunday Times, and threatened him and his family.

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# Living through bombs and shells: Danu's story

An oral testimony of war-time experience: The real name of the woman interviewed is withheld for her security

"I'm from the North, from Jaffna, I used to be a teacher of zoology and botany. My husband's work took us to live in the island of Delft, so I left my job in 1983, to help him in his work, he is a pastor.

During that time the [Sri Lanka] army was not in control of Delft, it was like a free island. And one day, actually I should have gone, on the boat to Jaffna. That particular day 15th May 1985, if I'm not mistaken. Early one morning the boat left the island, and there was about 110 people in the boat. The navy stopped the boat and just butchered all the people in the boat. Do you remember? I should have gone that day, but somehow I stayed back. That really shook my heart. All those innocent people who had been butchered for no reason.

We didn't hear anything until the next day, early morning. It was All India Radio which released the news that all these people were butchered. Until then nobody on that island knew about what happened. It was a boat from the island to Jaffna. I think that was the time when that I thought I should do something, or I could at least support the people to find a definite final solution to these troubles.

From there we when to Kilinochchi, the Parish was there, that was after the 1983 riots, so the Up Country Tamils had to move to Kilinochchi area as refugees, displaced people, so we were involved in refugee rehabilitation work. Then from Kilinochchi we went to Mankulam. Then I started to work for the orphan children in the Vanni. Later we went to live in Jaffna. We were living in Jaffna from 1987, the Indian Army was there. That was a terrible time. My husband was attacked physically by the soldiers. For no reason they would come and hammer you, and the other groups were there. We were living in tension the whole time, day and night. They beat him. One day they pulled him out, pushed him on the wall and said You have got 8 Tigers in your house, bring them out otherwise we will kill you. For no reason they would beat him. In the night they would come and stand in the compound and stand there the whole night watching.

***What was life like during the LTTE administration time?***

I should say we were like free people. Of course we had our practical difficulties, like we didn't have good power or whatever for transportation. We had a small motorbike which ran on kerosene oil, quite expensive, all the practical difficulties were there. We couldn't get all the things we liked at a low price, all those difficulties were there but we were happy and we lived like free people. Often there was shelling and things like that, but we knew that the boys were there, the girls were there, our people were there, the Tigers were there to protect us, and so we were alright. We could go as we like. We could go places, move about as we like, we didn't have the fear that somebody would attack us, somebody would be behind us, somebody would rape us, like what is happening now under the army. Even in the night we used to walk thinking that nobody would follow us, nothing would happen to us, because if incidents like that take place the Tigers would take care of it.

And even the dowry problem, that was a main problem we faced. That was considered as a part of our culture, and so many young women were affected by that. The Tigers put a very strict rule to stop that. For the parents who had so many girl children certainly they felt happy about it, and now the girls themselves they don't have the feeling that they are being sold for money.

***So what was it like as a woman being in Jaffna then?***

I think quite content, because I was able to move about as I liked, I didn't need anybody to accompany me, because they had a good administration. And to see a lot of the *Suthanthira Paravaigal*, the girls moving about happily, carrying their weapons or whatever, they were also like free birds. That was a kind of good feeling, in a way they were just coming out of the traditional way of being kept in the house. The other women also then had the courage to move forward. The young people, they were attracted by these women, and most of them they felt the only way to be free and happy was to join the Tiger women's group. That happened to one of our half sister's daughters. She had everything at home, was very good in her studies, she had freedom, she had everything, but in spite of it she went and joined the Tigers. And she left a note saying I am going to join this movement because I feel I will be happy with them.

***Why do you think she felt she would be happy with them?***

They are fighting for a cause. Happiness comes when we anchor our hope on something and feel good about doing what is right. And I feel that they have that feeling within them.

***What about the children, what was life like for them?***

Ah the children! (laughing). They used to have these games, just like we used to play peekaboo, the children then would play Tigers and Army, and finally in every game we see that the ones playing Tigers shoot the army fellows and they die, and the children would say, Ah! Tigers have won! Like that they would play games. They used to sing this song, Uncle Tiger, Uncle Tiger, can I come with you to fight? You can't just imagine how happy we were in those days. All age groups, and all people, they were living happy and free and on their own they were able to express their views.

***What happened then?***

All of a sudden 500,000 people left. They thought the Tigers are here to protect us, they won't let the army come in. Once they realised it was not going to be so, they fled. I was one of the people who fled. We asked ourselves, why should the Tigers do this? Why did they let the army in? Just imagine 500,000 people left. We all left because we didnít want to live with the Sri Lankan army.

Other friend's voice: Didn't you hear about the fire wall of hundreds of Tigers? They formed a wall to stop the advancing army so that the people could move.

Oh yes, yes {long pause looking sad}. They were just holding on until the people left. One of our friends died in that action. It was very sad.

***So how did it all start?***

That day there was severe shelling. We were living upstairs, every time we heard the shelling we moved downstairs, we thought that was quite safe. On the 27th morning there was shelling, severe shelling, the week before that the bombers came and dropped bombs. I was in my nightdress. I took my child and I ran downstairs. About a hundred meters from my house there was a bunker and one bomb fell just on the door of the bunker, you can just imagine 17 people were crammed into the bunker, they were just...you could only collect their pieces.

We thought it was going to get worse. For two days we didn't have a proper meal. I couldn't go upstairs to cook in the kitchen. The whole night we slept downstairs in the small corridor. We could hear the shells moving closer to us. Nobody was left in the area, we were just holding on and on and the next day we decided to leave, of course we heard, the boys were announcing it, for our safety we should leave that area.

In the candlelight I took whatever I could. I put some foodstuffs in one bag, and some photographs and certificates and papers in the other bag. And we left by van, with the Bishop. At the time 10 shells landed in our compound, 8 exploded two did not explode. And we left like that. Only when we reached Jaffna town we realised so many people had left there, only one road which was crammed, jammed with cars and vehicles and the people were crowded. You can imagine what it was like, we didn't have walls or fences on either side of the road, and they had dug bunkers by the side, it was pitch dark, pouring with rain and our van got stuck. We had to get down. I got down and in the dark I took the wrong bag. And I started walking. People were screaming, I thought the army has come and was behind us.

In the dark people lost their children. The mothers were shouting for their children, calling their names, and the children were crying, amma, pappa.

I did not walk, I was pushed forward by the people. In the morning somebody said to take the side track, with a short cut we can get there sooner, and so we got into the paddy fields, we didn't realise it was going to be worse. We started walking, you can just imagine the water up to this level (pointing to her thighs), carrying my child and holding one bag in my hand, because it was rainy season. The mud was so thick I couldn't even pull my feet up, just inch by inch we were moving.

And just in front of me I saw an old lady - getting drowned, and two young girls were pulling her up. But I couldn't reach her, (crying) I couldnít help. And she was just drowning. I'll never forget in my life, that old woman in a white sari, they were pulling her and pulling her.

**The bombers were coming and dropping bombs and my daughter asked me, Mama if I die will they tell papa that we are here?**

**One time I slipped and fell, and I couldn't get up. I couldn't get up. A little boy came and said hold onto the bicycle, akka [elder sister], you can get up. I took hold of the bicycle and pulled myself up. From head to toe I was covered with mud. We only just made it.**

When we reached the other side, my daughter started crying. She wanted some water, all this time we hadn't had a drop of water. By the time all my bag was soaked, and I thought I had put in some chocolate, I thought I could at least give her the chocolate, and then I found that I had taken the wrong bag. All my photographs, and certificates and documents, just lost. And then I saw a bakery, people were just crowding, so many hundreds of people surrounded it. I asked someone to buy me a loaf of bread, he said, I can't go I can't just reach there. But my daughter was crying and crying, and so I thought I had to ask somebody. For the first time in my life I begged for a piece of bread. I started crying.

We only just made it. We had been walking for 17 hours and when we reached the destination I couldn't even put my daughter down, my bones were cramped and cold.

The army only took over a small part of the Jaffna peninsula in that first military operation. Many of those who escaped moved to other parts of the peninsular. But later they became victims of the second army operation that forced some of them out of the peninsular altogether, or forced them back into Jaffna.

We had to go to a pastors wedding in Jaffna. We took a chance in going there and we got caught in the second army operation there, Riveresa Two. We didn't want to take a chance, we didn't want to stay there so we rushed back to Killali to cross the lagoon to go to Kilinochchi. They were just bombing and shelling the Killali area, where people had crowded to cross over to Kilinochchi. I don't know how they could just do that. They knew that there were thousands of people there and they just continued bombing and shelling. We were on a motorbike. We had hired a motorbike, there were four of us on the bike, and the man said I can't go on any more, because there is shelling and shooting and I want to get back. We said please, please, we don't want to stay here we want to go cross the lagoon and go to Kilinochchi. As we were going, say about less than 200 yards, a helicopter came and fired, a big noise right over our heads. Smoke everywhere. At that time we didn't know what had happened. We also just fell on one side, with the motorbike. Then the man said, no, this is it. I can't go on. We pleaded with him, please take us there, the lagoon. And when we reached the place we learnt that 5 people were dead in that. And thereafter they just continued to shell. We were lucky, we got on a boat, so many others didn't make it.

That is why they bombed the Killali - they forced the people to go back. The people were running away from the army because they know what will happen to them. And again, even when we were in Kilinochchi, again they were shelling us. The army operation started. And the people living in the town areas, most of them were displaced people, they were again displaced.

In the Vanni, in our farm we had a small house, and four families were living with us. And there was a mango orchard, and under every mango tree there were two or three families living. How they survived, you can't imagine. Just because we had a church house we had somewhere, otherwise our lives would be the same.

***What do you feel now?***

I feel we have suffered enough, just because we are Tamils. And I am not prepared to accept anything less than Tamil Eelam. That is what I feel. I know how much we have suffered in all ways. We have lost our homes, we have lost our children. And we are not going to take the crumbs from their table.

## ORAL TESTIMONIES PROJECT

*The Womens Development and Information Unit is interviewing and collecting oral testimonies of women from Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka. These testimonies will cover all aspects of life in war time, living under army occupation, as well as life in the free areas. Many of the events described in the testimonies are from crucial historic moments in the struggle for freedom of the Tamil Eelam people. We plan to eventually publish a book of the testimonies which we believe are essential to contribute to a proper understanding of the conflict from the point of view of the people who experience it. Please contact us if you have an experience to share. We would like your support in making sure that the stories of these women are distributed widely, so that their voices are not lost. Please feel free to copy this testimony and give it out. We are also fundraising in order to publish a selection of these testimonies as a book, if you would like to support this project please send us a donation.*

*Unit 6, Durning Hall, Earlham Grove, Forest Gate, London E7 9AB*
*Tel & Fax: 0181 536 0198* ❑

# Tamil Refugee Settlement bombed: Over 25 killed

Over 25 persons were killed and more than 50 seriously injured when two Kfir jets of the Sri Lankan Air Force dropped a series of high-powered bombs on Suthanthirapuram - a refugee settlement in Mullaitivu district.

The dead and injured included several women and children. Many houses were reduced to rubble and cottages were set on fire. Bodies were reduced to flesh and bones. This barbarous attack took place on 10 June within days of the draconian legislation on Press censorship on the war.

The aerial bombing was followed by half an hour of shelling by Sinhala armed forces at Elephant Pass and other nearby army camps. More than 100 artillery shells kept pounding Suthanthirapuram, Udayarkaddu North and Vallipuram causing further damage to the civilian habitation. The Liberation Tigers stated in a Press release that five of the killed were their own fighters, and named them as Lt.Col.Anbu/ Amma, Subosana Tharanika and Kalaimathy of the women's brigade and Capt. Kavalan Three of the children who were killed, Pushpanathan Kalaichelvi (04), Sathyaseelan (08) and Sathees (10) belonged to the same family.

More fatal casualties were feared among those who were seriously injured. A black day was observed all over Tamil Eelam on 11 June, mourning for the dead at Suthanthirapuram.

# Mass protest rally in the Vanni

Thousands of Tamil men, women and children participated in a demonstration held in Vanni On 15th June in protest of Sri Lankan armed forces killing of innocent Tamil civilians. The protest began at 10.30 a.m. in Vallipuram and reached Suthanthira puram grounds at 1.30 p.m. The recent sinhala army massacre on Suthanthirapuram, Udyarkaddu and Vallipuram in which over 25 persons including women and children were killed and over 50 seriously injured was strongly condemned by the protesters.

It was pointed out during the demonstration that attack on civilians and civilian habitations by the Sinhala armed forces is a norm in Sri Lanka. In 1995, the Sri Lankan Airforce bombed the Navaly church in which over 200 displaced civilians were killed. In the same year the Nagarkoil School was also bombed in which over 30 innocent Tamil children were killed. What makes this possible is the financial and military assistance provided generously to by Aid Consortium composed of donor countries.

A public meeting also took place where the bombs and shells fell. Many speakers condemned World Agencies for keeping silence and turning a blind eye on the sufferings of the Tamil people and not voicing in protest of Sinhala army atrocities.At the end of the public meeting memorandums addressed to the UN Secretary General were presented by the NGO's Union of Mullaithivu, Mullaithivu Confederation of Citizens Organisations and Rev. Fr. Cross - the Parish Priest of Suthanthirapuram.

At the end of the meeting life size effigies of Sri Lankan President Chandrika and Deputy Defence Minister Ratwatte were burned by the protesters.

## Hindu devotees harassed

Tamils from many parts of Jaffna peninsula who went to attend the recent Karainagar Shivan Temple Kumba Abishegam Ceremony, were halted at Ponnalai bridge and held for many hours for checking by the Sinhala Navy. They were ordered to dismount from their vehicles and unpack articles taken to the religious ceremony. As there is no other route available other than Ponnalai bridge to Karainagar many devotees had to wait for several hours before getting clearance from the Sinhala Navy. Sinhala armed forces are nowadays seen in their large numbers at Temple festivals for what they call "on the spot duty".

## More Chinese boats for Sri Lanka

The Sri Lankan Navy is scheduled to receive three more Shanghai II class fast attack craft from China in August, according to Jane's Weekly. The boats will supplement the service's three existing ones known locally as the Sooraya class.

The Sri Lankan Navy had been incurring heavy losses at the hands of the LTTE in recent years. In February this year, a Navy cargo ship and a landing craft, the "Pabbatha" and "Valampuri" were sunk about 10 miles off Point Pedro on the northern seas, and more than sixty soldiers and sailors killed in the sea battle.

## Buddhist monks lead march

Thousands of placard carrying protesters, including Buddhist monks, marched through the streets of Colombo demanding that foreign govenemnts ban the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) rebels and curb their fund-raising activities.

The march ended at the British High Commission (embassy) where the protesters handed over a letter, signed by more than 100,000 Sri Lankans from all religions and races, to officials demanding Britain ban the organisation.

May 24 1998
at Wadham Lodge Sports centre

# Alan Lamb, Desmond Haynes at Tamil cricket festival

*(form our sports correspondent A.Ananthan)*

Cricketing superstars from England, West Indies, and Pakistan forged an unlikely allegiance to face the Tamil Eelam Cricket Team at the third annual Tamil Cricket and Netball Festival held at Wadham Lodge Sports Centre, Walthamstow, London, on Sunday, 24th May 1998.

*Tamil Eelam Medallions*

The legendary faces of former England batting supremo Alan Lamb, calypso king opening test batsman Desmond Haynes, the current West Indian test batsman and specialist spinner Jimmy Adams, the Pakistani demonic new fast bowler Mohammed Akram, former England Test all-rounder and current Northants pace ace David Capel, appeared as the invited guest players of the world seven that met the Eelam seven selected from the match winning performances of 1997 tournament, captained by Centralite Raviraj, and comprising fellow Centralite Mano Tharmaraj, Prabananthan of Jaffna Hindu, Navaneetharajah of St Patricks, Selvam of Batticaloa Central College, Vijayan of Kokuvil Hindu College and Kogulan of Mahajana College.

In the keenly contested match that captivated the fullest attention of the 7000 strong spectators, the world seven emerged as the winners in spite of excellent bowling display of the Tamil Team that tamed even the Caribbean Master Desmond Haynes and the South African born English Willow Master Alan Lamb. However, the lightening pace of David Capel and Mohammed Akram eventually tipped the balance and our batsmen fell short of the target by mere fourteen runs.

*International team*

The May Sports Festival has now surpassed all other Tamil functions in the United Kingdom as the best attended and most supported event. The games this year contested by 27 cricket teams representing all the corners of Tamil Eelam and six Netball teams, commenced at 9:00 am. The organisers had planned and provided two specially patrolled car parks from where the spectators were shuttled to the grounds in the comfort of minivans. Several trade and charitable organisation marquees, children's fun fair, exceptionally high quality public con-

*Runners-up, Jaffna Hindu*

*Trophies*

veniences, food stall and bar facilities, spectators' shelters, school marquees, journalists and press stalls, had all been carefully provided by the organising committee.

Cricket is the pride and joy of the Tamil youngsters in the UK. This provides the focus of their youthful interest and forms the fabric for social interaction enabling the continuity of friendly relationships between the wide spectrum of the Tamil Diaspora displaced from our homeland. It was heart rending to see the 33 teams line up under their respective college flags to mark their respects to their fellow brethren who have sacrificed their youth in the struggle for freedom. The Southwark Mayor honoured the flag raising ceremony.

In the preliminary stages, all the teams played extremely well, almost all the top favourites to win the tournament found that the standard of cricket displayed by the supposed under dogs had raised leaps and bounds this year and the games were all tightly fought. Last year's champions Jaffna Hindu College beat St Patricks College in the Semi finals to meet St Johns who beat Jaffna Central College. It was a testament of courage and team spirit to see T Vino of St Johns, who fell unconscious by a bouncer on the third ball of the last over, still needing six runs to lead his team to victory, rise up and face the last three balls to hit a boundary and guide his team to the finals. The finals provided spectacular batting display by both St Johns and Jaffna Hindu. St Johns College batting first put up 72 runs for the loss of 1 wicket in their allotted 5 overs,

*Cricket champs, St. John's*

Camelot Castle

Jaffna Hindu chasing this target started well scoring 36 runs in the first two overs, but were restricted to 59 runs for the loss of 4 wickets by the accurate bowling of the Johnians.

Soruban Pasupathy of St Johns was adjudged the player of the finals, with Vijayanathan of Jaffna Central winning the man of the Tournament trophy. Prabananthan of Jaffna Hindu was the best batsman and P Senthooran of St Johns won the best bowler's award.

*The Mayor at the TEEDOR stall*

The six Netball teams played a round-robin tournament and the last two years' reigning champions Chundukuli Girls College and Ilavalai Convent reached the finals. The finals was keenly contested and at one stage Chundukuli Girls College seemed to ease towards victory, but the Ilavalai Convent girls took a late lead, which the Chundukuli Girls overtook by 12 to 10 at the last whistle to emerge as the invincible three consecutive years' champions.

GA
GD
WD
WA
GK

*Chundukuli team, the champs*

GD
WD
WA
GS
GK
C
GA

*The runners-up, Ilavalai Convent*

For the Tamil sports fans the main attraction was not just the cricket and Netball, but also the Thamil Eela Unavaham, which dished out mouth watering kool, kothurotti, pannangai panniyaram, and fried fish which tantalised the taste buds and brought memories of home.

This year's raffle was for a Suzuki Vitara which was parked on the ground and attracted a lot of attention. The winning ticket was picked by the special guest Alan Lamb. Lady luck favoured a Tamil from Croydon.

It was a great pleasure to see Alan Lamb remain in the ground until the final proceedings and give away the awards. He commented on the high degree of talent and skills shown by the Tamil boys. The day's events were brought to a spectacular finale with a fireworks display.

The awards for the winners of the Eelam Tamil Football League were distributed at this event. The inaugural Eelam Tamil Football League competition sponsored by the United Tamils Organisation, was contested by 10 teams in the UK in which Northern Sports Club emerged as unbeaten champions. Tooting Blues who also won 6 out of their 8 games won the runners up trophy.

This football league provided winter time sporting activity for the Tamil youth in UK. As all the games were played at the Warren Farm Sports Centre in 5 pitches, this provided an opportunity for all the youngsters to meet regularly and foster good sportsmanship. The games were refereed by fully qualified referees.

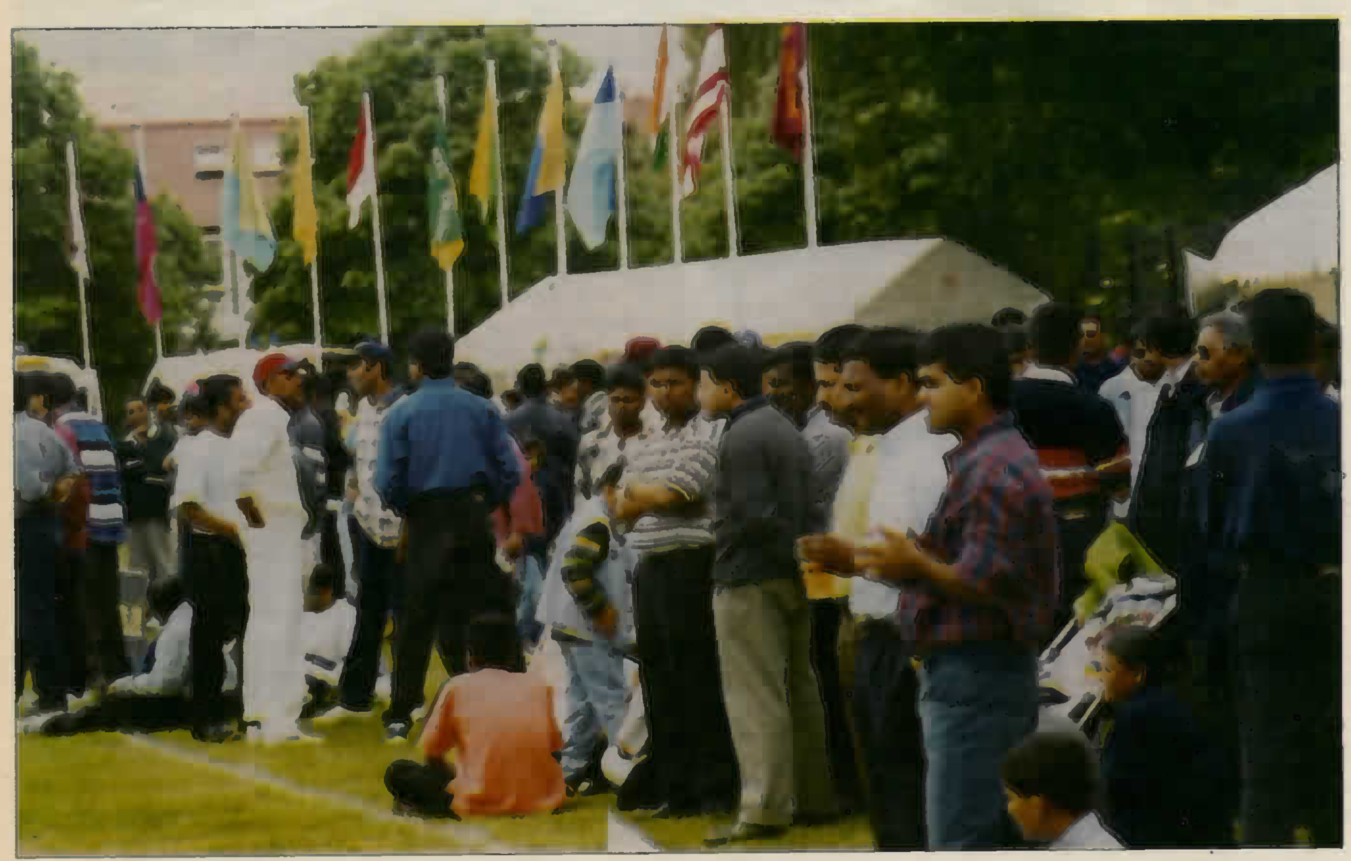
The United Tamils Organisations had also organised the Seven-a-Side Eelam Football Cup on 5th April 1998, which was on a F.A Cup style knock-out tournament. 10 teams participated in this one day event, supported by large crowds, and Northern Sports Club won the Cup with Tooting Blues emerging as runner up.

The organisers have announced that an under-12 and under-16 football league will also be introduced for the football season of 1998.

❑❑❑

*Northern Sports Club, the champs*

*The runners-up, Tooting Blues*



# Tamil Eelam team in 24-nation soccer

*(form our sports correspondent A.Ananthan)*

The proud Celtic Nation Scotland was to meet the reigning world champions Brazil to kick start the 1998 World Cup in France. Our own Eelam Tamils Football Team participated in the Inner City World Cup in London and raised the Tamil National flag in the luscious green splendour of Wimbledon Common Extension Grounds on the weekend of 30th and 31st May 1998.

In this tournament organised by the English Football Association to nurture international football talent within the inner cities, more than 24 countries participated and this is the first occasion where the Tamil National Team gained recognition in an official tournament held in the international forum.

The Tamil National Team made a grand entrance with the artistic entourage of natheswaram and melam. Ladies adorned in beautiful yellow and red sarees, and gentlemen displaying the Tamil National costume of verti salvai, lined the grounds supporting their team, waiving the Tamil National flag with pride.

Games were played with high sporting spirit and in the opening game Eelam Tamils met with a 4-nil defeat at the hands of the last four consecutive years champions, Siera Leone, but recovered well with an emphatic 3-1 victory over Mexico and earned a respectable one all draw with Israel. However, due to the goal difference rule the Team managed to qualify for the plate tournament.

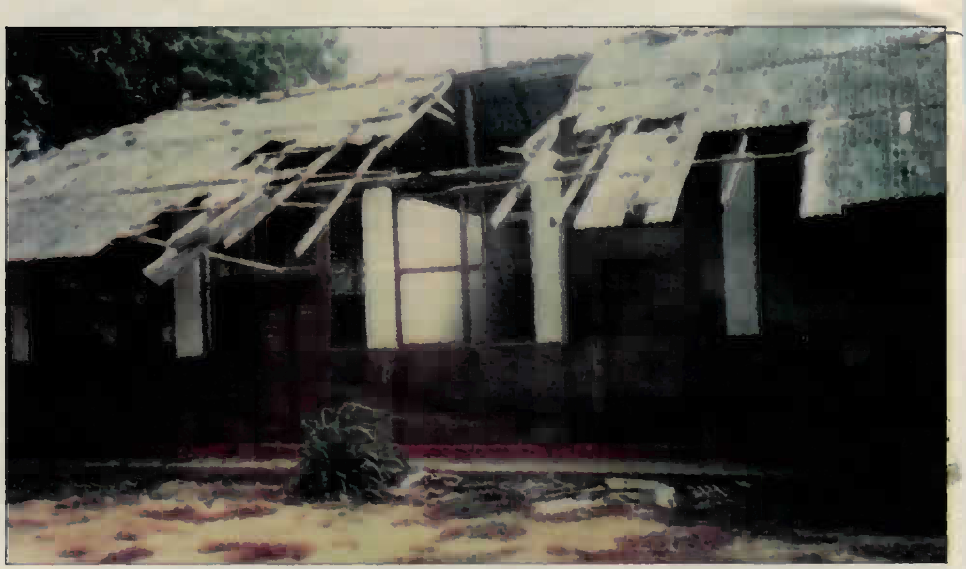
ELAM TAMILS
EELAM TAM

Wearing specially fitted yellow, red and black outfits, the Eelam boys participated in the tournament with enthusiasm and beat Japan by 3 goals to 1 and Iraq also by 3 goals to 1, but lost out to Somalia by 2-nil in a highly competitive match. In the plate finals, the Team met Argentina and after a well fought highly tensed game, lost by a single goal.

The spectacle of such exuberant athletic talents of several countries being displayed on an international level was heartening, and the Tamil spectators were delighted with their team's excellent performance at such a high level in the first year of their participation itself. Each country's teams were well supported with their countrymen swamping the playing field with their respective national identities of clothing, music, and food. And the beautiful sarees, verties, the Thamil Eela Unavaham, and the natheswara music took the centre stage amongst all those present and it was no wonder that the Tamil Eelam team won the special accolade of being the "best supported team" of the tournament.

It was encouraging to see the Team chosen by merit from those who had been playing regularly in the Eelam Tamil Football League sponsored by United Tamils Organisation. The Team was coached by the famous footballing son of Jaffna, Mr M Francis and was managed by Mr K P S Chetty. ❑

# St.John's College, Jaffna emerges from the ashes

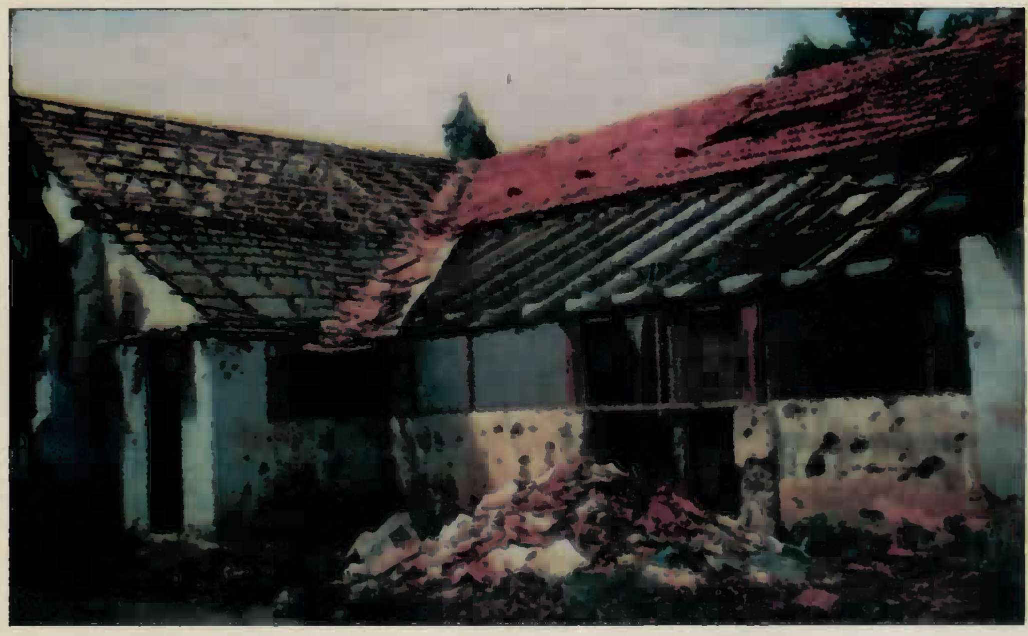


St.John's College, Jaffna, like many other schools in the north, had faced destruction in recent years through aerial bombing by the Sri Lankan air force. One of Jaffna's famous academic institutions, St.John's is this year observing the 175th year of inauguration.

An English missionary by the name of Joseph Knight started the school with seven students in 1823. Through its long history the school has provided great scholars, sportsmen, and Tamil activists to the Tamil nation. It would also be remembered that Jaffna schools like St.John's have nurtured leading Sinhala politicians like Maithripala Senanayake and the present Speaker of the Sri Lankan parliament, K.B.Ratnayake. Even that did not deter the Sri Lankan government from bombing the Jaffna schools. Now, thanks to Norwegian government funding, the school is emerging from the ashes with new buildings and fresh vigour.

The school recently marked the Anniversary with a cultural programme and thanksgiving service. The Old Boys' Association in the U.K. has also arranged a Thanksgiving service to be held at St.John's Church, Old Church Road, off Uxbridge Road, Stanmore Middx. on Sunday 28th June at 1.00 p.m. to be followed by a fellowship lunch and an inter-house sports festival.

Old Boys and well-wishers of the school who require further information are asked to contact the President on 0181-952-9914.



*Pictures show sections of the school's library and primary school damaged by Sri Lanka's aerial bombing. Also damaged were the Jubilee Peto Memorial Hall, the teachers' and Principal's bungalows and practically every other section of the school structure.*

*No.3 in the series of interviews given by LTTE leader* **Velupillai Prabhakaran** *to the media.*

## N. Ram *interviews* Prabhakaran (Part 2)

# "What I think of the Sinhala politicians"

*Continued from the previous issue*

**N. Ram:** *May I ask you for your opinion of Sinhala politicians - the government party and the opposition parties. Are there any significant non-chauvinistic or anti-chauvinistic, progressive forces in Sri Lankan politics? How do you view the political spectrum on the other side?*

**V.Prabakaran:** Let's consider the longer term experience. Among the Sinhala parties, the UNP and the SLFP have been around for the whole period. Neither has been interested in solving our problem in any way. One could even say this struggle started during the Prime Ministership of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. 1972 saw the sharpening of the militant struggle. In that year, our basic rights were snatched away and a new constitution was instituted. The Republican Constitution took away the status of Tamil as an official minority language. In other words,what existed in the old constitution as a limited right for us was robbed through constitutional change. Those responsible for that included Mr.Colvin R.De Silva of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, a "Leftist". At that time, Mrs.Bandaranaike's United Front included, apart from him, Mr.Peter Keuneman of the Communist Party, it was a united front government.

With even leftists with progressive ideas taking away our basic rights through constitutional change, our struggle intensified and acquired a sharp edge. It is important to reiterate this: Our struggle sharpened in opposition to the new Republican Constitution of 1972. Please remember that the person who wrote much of the new Constitution wasMr.Colvin R.De.Silva. Existing rights were done away with. The Tamil representatives who walked out of Parliament in opposition, refused to sign it. Those few Tamils who signed it were recognised by our people as traitors.

**Flashback 1986 !**

Where he talks about
Dr. Colvin R de Silva,
Vijaya Kumaratunga,
Mrs. Bandaranaike,
Cuba. . . .
Soviet Union. . . .
Yugoslavia. . . .
Mahatma Gandhi. . . .
Subas Chandra Bose. . . .
Napoleon. . . .
Mahabharata. . . .
Bhagat Singh. . . .
Socrates. . . .
and about his father
***Velupillai***

But let's take a very recent example. Mr.Viyay Kumaranatunga, the leader of a leftist party, the SLMP, is not able to speak freely on his own party platform. Bombs are hurled at him. This shows that no Sinhala party expressing support to the Tamils in any way can flourish there. This is why we say circumstances do not permit us the luxury of trusting Sinhala politicians! If there is a rational voice, it is a small tendency. Those who voice support for us are in a miniscule minority and they are being smothered.

**Q:** *Do you regard the posture of Jayewardene Government, and the various elements in it, as a response necessitated by a difficult situation - the blows they have taken, the adverse economic impact, the resistance by the LTTE and others and the international criticism of the government's handling of the I am question? Has all this brought them to a stage where they seem keen on a political solu-*

*tion? Or do you see it as part of some other plan?*

**A:** One should see it as a posture tailored mainly to the external world. Which is to say, at a time of preparing internally for war, he (Mr.Jayewardene) has been pushed into a situation of having to demonstrate to the outside world that he is a lover of peace. Or, alternatively, that he is one who strives for peace but, finding that not possible, has to resort to war. He is trying to varnish the path of racist-chauvinistic destruction he is going to pursue. his recent pronouncements give a clue to this: "I will mobilise all healthy (Sinhala) people to wage war(on the Tamils). I will lead those ranks". These statements do not reveal him as a peace-lover!.

Another aspect is to tell the aid-giving countries: "I tried my best to solve the crisis but it was not possible. That is why I have to declare war", and to receive further assistance. He shows himself to this forum as being extremely enthusiastic about a political solution despite repeated setbacks and rebuffs. As one who is not put off by failures. Internally, of course, he does not offer anything substantive; he is still revolving his offer around the idea of provincial councils.

### Jayewardene's strategy

Thirdly, and this is crucial, his strategy has to deal with the Government of India. If he can make the Indian government repose faith in him, if he can make it believe in these party concessions and win its approval, if he can create misunderstanding between the Indian Government and the militants, then he can disarm us and destroy us. This is his line of thinking. In fact, he has asked India publicly to help him push through these proposals and also to help him implement them.

**Q:** *One last area. I would like to ask you a few questions on your ideological outlook and politics. Various things have been said and written about you and the LTTE, and obviously everyone goes through some kind of political evolution. I would like to get an insight into how you see yourself, your political evolution and ideology, over time. To start with, how would you characterise the ideology of the LTTE?*

**A:** Socialism and Tamil Eelam form our political ideology, our cause.

**Q:** *When journalists or external observers try to interpret the Tamil militant phenomenon, they characterise some of the organisation as "nationalist" in orientation or perspective and some others as "socialist" or Left. For example, they would say the LTTE (and earlier TELO) came to the struggle from a "nationalist" angle whereas EROS and EPRLF brought a somewhat different outlook with an emphasis on socialism or left oriented politics. Would you like to comment on this differentiation?*

*Subhas Chandra Bose*

**A:** To me the activities of all the (militant) organisations look the same. What is the difference in the practice of those who are supposed to be committed to "nationalism" and those who profess the other thing(laughter)? You know that brands of socialism vary according to who professes and interprets it. Everyone claims to be a socialist. Does not Mr.Jayewardene claim this label for himself? You can judge the product only when those who profess socialism put it into practice. We advocate a socialism that fully reflects our people's interests and aspirations, a socialism that harnesses the creative abilities of the masses. Some time ago, I made reference to the'Yugoslav pattern' (in a positive light). We consider it socialist experimentation-where democracy has to be enhanced in the political process. Through workers' self-management, democratic participation is allowed in a socialist set-up.

Our objective is to allow, to a great extent, people's democracy in a socialist system. We do not consider the 'Yugoslav pattern' to be our model. We will workout our own pattern in the future. Let's look, for a moment, at another thing Yugoslavia has sought to do. It tried to create a 'third force' during Nehru's time, in cooperation with him; that was the origin of the non-aligned movement. They have an active role in (progressive) struggles; at the same time, they take an independent stand without aligning themselves with anyone. Aspects such as these appeal to us; we consider these aspects seriously and think along these lines. We are thinking of pattern of socialism that is suited to our people, our culture, our historical heritage. We have a special social structure and in fact, in our land there are no big capitalists. There is, however, a numerous middle class.

**Q:** *One idea that has been put forward (in an interview you gave recently and perhaps in other statements as well) is that your organisation believes in a one-party state after the achievement of liberation. That has raised apprehensions. ..*

**A:** It depends on what the people want and go for. They can choose freely the party they want. Take, for example, India. Has not the Congress party dominated political life here over a long period? Does not it rule even today? **You mention the doubts and suspicions our position has given rise to. My impression is that they**

**are created mainly by those who want to become leaders without fighting! What we said has made a special impact on the minds of those who have stood aloof from the struggle, but nurse high leadership ambitions.**

Look at the entire range of socialist countries. What prevails there? Is it not one party which, having worked for the revolution and having been approved by the people, wields power? Look at Cuba, the Soviet Union, every socialist country... By the way, I consider this in the nature of a necessary examination. Journalists can be regarded as the examiners of politicians. You represent the public and mediate between us and the people. What we are able to convey to you with effort and precision, as in an examination, reaches the people. But, in truth, you are the danger for us (laughter)!

### "Ruthlessness"

**Q:** *Let me ask you a frank question. There are several external perceptions of what you stand for. Many people see you as a disciplined, capable leader who is able to summon the spirit of sacrifice from his ranks. On the other hand they call attention to your "ruthlessness". For example, a recent despatch ffom Colombo published in the New York Times:"To the world's roster of querrilla leaders whose strategic brilliance is matched by their ruthlessness, people here say they have added a new nameVelupilai Prabakaran." The implication is that your actions lack a humanistic or broad democratic content. How would you respond to this criticism?*

**A: To be frank, military discipline is ruthless intrinsically. In any country, military discipline has special auttributes. Whether it is a 'communist' or 'democratic' country, the regulations and rules for an army are of a nature apart. Look at any military activity: the objective of victory is valued more than the consequences. Victory matters most in military affairs! On the other hand, we are authentic fighters for the people. Our critics point only to our ruthlessness towards the enemy. But can we afford to be peaceable in our ways in the face of a ruthless enemy? We certainly cannot, that's the truth. But you know we maintain high standards of discipline and morality in our practice.**

*Bhagat Singh*

When you have a school with a good standard of discipline and a principal who believes in this, the students acquire a good education and do well in life. You see this everywhere there are certain schools which are rated as "good" because the teachers and, most important, the principal stand for discipline. You will find that batches and batches of students who studied under such a principal do well later on. The same principle applies to our activity. That is why we lay such stress on stern discipline. Ruthlessness in our organisation is manifested in the battlefield.

**Q:** *Could you give us some examples of this discipline?*

**A:** What is this discipline? Consider this in relation to anti-people, anti-social activities. When we keep a person in our organisation, he is by definition one who fights for the people. If he indulges in action inimical to the interests of the people or in anti-social activities and we support it or put up with it, then be sure that this struggle will lose its way and will be pushed in a quite different direction. Instead of standing out as a fighter for the people, he turns into the people's enemy. Consider also this aspect - the status of those under arms in society. Those who bear arms acquire and wield an extreme measure of power. We believe that if this power is abused, it will inevitably lead to dictatorship. That is why we keep our military organisation in such a strict state of discipline. But please note that we exercise our ruthlessness against the ruthless guys. otherwise we cannot win.

**Q:** *But there have been instances of innocent Sinhala civilians killed by your organisation. The Anuradhapura massacre...*

**A:** We have denied responsibility for that and we have condemned that.

### Special edge

**Q:** *It has been reported that all your fighters carry cyanide capsules strung round their necks. Is this an exaggeration?*

**A:** Yes, we have adopted this measure from the vary start. As a consequence, many comrades have sacrificed themselves. You won't find people from our movement in jail - at any rate, not more that you can count on your fingers...perhaps two or three persons, but even then not those involved in the inner circle of our activity. That is to say our fighters, through laying down their lives, protect our sympathisers and contacts and the people who give us support and assistance.

## Why we carry cyanide on our person. . .

Otherwise, the great mass of the people who support us and their families would be herded into jail. But that is not the only reason for this practice.

It is this cyanide which has helped us develop our movement very rapidly. Carrying cyanide on one's person is a symbolic expression of our commitment, our determination, our courage. For example, Kittu, our Jaffa area commander, has stated in an interview: "as long as we have this cyanide round our neck, we have no need to fear any force on earth!" In reality, this gives our fighters an extra measure of belief in the cause, a special edge; it has instilled in us a determination to sacrifice our lives and our everything for the cause. while attacking, our fighters don't count their lives. They will advance nonchalantly through an artillery attack or a hail of bullets.

**Q:** *One final question. Could you give us an idea of your personal heroes in revolutionary struggles or liberation movements or in any sphere of life... people and experiences that have inspired you? and perhaps thereby give us some insight into your own political evolution from the time you were a schoolboy?*

### About his father

**A:** From my boyhood, the struggle that attracted me most was the Indian freedom struggle. The role of Netaji attracted me very much. I was brought up in an environment of strict discipline from childhood. I was not permitted to mingle freely with outsiders. I used to feel shy of girls. Great store was laid by personal rectitude and discipline. **My father set an example through his own personal conduct: He would not even chew betel leaves. I modelled my conduct on his... he was a government officer, a district land officer. A very straightforward man. People say in our area: "When he walks, he does not hurt even the grass under his feet, but his son is so... "Even while criticising me, they marvel at the fact that such as son was born to such a father! He was strict, yes, but also soft and persuasive. In my own case, he reasoned rather than regimented and his attitude was that of a friend** ... he would give me certain pieces of advice and discuss things with me. As I said, I grew up as a shy boy... especially in the matter of mingling with girls.

The life of Subhas Chandra Bose attracted me specially. Even as a boy, I would delve into Gandhiji's books on experiments with truth, on celibacy and so on. Subhas attracted me particularly since even as a boy he went in search of spiritualism and, finding the life of a recluse dissatisfying, returned (laughs). Yet repeatedly he retreated into spiritualism...during moments of great difficulty and crisis. I followed this history and these stories with fascination. He became my special hero and same of his orations gripped me. For example: "I shall fight for the freedom of my land until I shed my last drop of blood. "These words used to thrill me whenever they came to me. Then the story of Bhagat Singh fascinated me.

**In other words, the biographies and histories of those who hit back at the perpetrators of injustice, those who counterattacked (the unjust foe) were my special favourite. Because in our land, the Sinhalese behaved so cruelly towards us... we would hear stories about this and read about these cruel acts in books and newspapers...Later I read about this particular episode that took place during the 1958 attacks on Tamils... they broke into a temple, Panadura, found a Brahmin priest sleeping, tied him to his cot, poured petrol over him and burnt him alive. Ours was a godfearing society and the people were religious minded. The widespread felling was: when a priest like him was burnt alive, why did we not have the capability to hit back? That was one atrocity that made people think deeply. In another episode, they threw a child into a drum of boiling tar. This left a very deep imprint on my mind and in the minds of those around me. If such innocent lives could be destroyed, why could we not strike back?**

In such moments, these heroic examples and models from the Indian freedom struggle came to me. Magazines retold these stories on special occasions such as India's Independence Day celebrations...this practice continues. Consider another example Tiruppur Kumaran - in his ahimsa there was a steely determination. If I was attracted by the experience of armed struggle against injustice, I was drawn by the moral force of ahimsa as well. I was inspired by examples of grit and determination. I began to think along these lines early in life...why can't we follow there examples? Why can't we start an armed struggle?

I used to read books on the rise of Napoleon and his exploits.. .this kind of history held special appeal...in the Mahabharata, the roles of Bhima and Karna were specially attractive to me... the spirit of sacrifice appeared crucial. People respond to characters in the Mahabharata in various ways. I value the character and role of Karna the most on account or his readiness to make the ultimate sacrifice... I read some of Vivekanada's sayings and the urge grew in me to work towards a strong youth force. I plunged into this line of thinking...At what age? These feelings and ideas began to take shape when I was 16 approximately. I used to listen to the religious discourses of Kripannanda Variar... I used to go to all these events... those connected with religion...I would go and observe political meetings... attend dramatic performances...in my place, they used to enact plays on Socrates and so on.

So quite early on, we absorbed all these influences and the feeling grew in us that we must do something! Looking at our historical background, we had to take up arms to fight for our rights. The lesson was that they could do all this because we were defenceless and disarmed. Why should we remain so? We should take up violence to counter and overthrow their violence... Only after that did I engage in this movement.

**Q:** The impression among outsiders who have observed the devolpment of the LTTE is that you-as its leader -have only recently begun to take a deeper or more detailed interest in politics . . . . whereas earlier you used to live in mainly in the realm of military ideas. (You were considered shy and did not meet people easily, which would make it difficult in politics.) Now they find you speaking out on a number of political issues.

**A:** In reality, it has always been clear to me than an armed struggle, takes shape only against a political background. If I had been a man without political clarity... **I went underground around 1973 and you know that leading an underground life is a very difficult proposition. I have led an underground life for a long time...between 1973 and 1983, it was a very difficult period for us, with the army on the rampage... to escape their net was very difficult.** If we were able to go through this experience and are able to stand firm today, then surely you will concede that we could not have been political innocents or carried on without a political background!

But one thing is true, despite this political background. My natural inclination makes me lay less emphasis on words. **In serious politics, it won't do to concentrate on talking; you must grow through action and then talk!** You would have observed that only as we grew in our activities, in our activities in the field, did we come up to a position of meeting various people and explaining our ideas - only then did our words carry some value. Words must be matched and indeed preceded by content. This is crucial for our relations with our people. If people respect our fighters more, it is because of this extra discipline. Certain exemplary personal attributes, a certain personal rectitude that is why our people are attracted to LTTE fighters. When you speak of a political outlook, people will respect you only if your prove yourself in action. Action gives your programme a political content. When we say during this period, "they will use the army to attack us, we will resist and counterattack and we will protect you" well...only when we actually do it do we establish our political credibility and role.

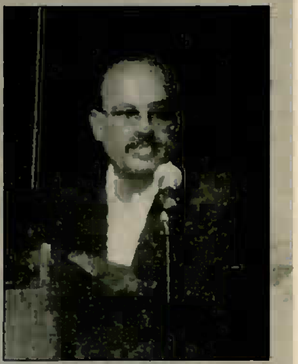
That is why we have given due attention to military affairs in our organisation. You know the character of our struggle. In a situation where the Sri Lankan state feeds its army on racism and chauvinism and through that army and through forced colonisation, tries to displace and subjugate us. Only a political organisation with military strength is capable of effective resistance. Look all around the world... any real struggle has had a military background. Even if the Indian freedom struggle was conducted on the basis of ahimsa, Netaji's Indian National Army had a special place... there is definitely a place today in Indian history for Subhas! His was an action-oriented political approach.

*....arms from Pakistan arrive secretly ... gunboats from China, foreign military advisers... the government was preparing for a massive offensive"*

**And take the Indian state today. If India is able to stand up in the community of nations, it is in no small measure due to the strength of the Indian armed forces else, the Chinese would bring their frontiers up to Delhi.!**

# Tamil Nadu parties urge India to act

NEW DELHI, June 10 (AFP) - Three key Indian regional parties backing the ruling Hindu nationalists Wednesday asked Sri Lanka to halt its military offensive against Tamil guerrillas and withdraw troops from Tamil regions. The demands were contained in a memorandum submitted by the parties to Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, in which they accused Colombo of **committing "genocide" against its Tamil population.**



The memorandum was signed by 15 politicians from the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, including former chief minister Jayaram Jayalalitha and leaders of two other major allied parties.

**One of the prominent signatories to the statement, S. Ramdas, whose small but influential regional party is a member of the Indian government, said he considered the LTTE "a liberation movement."** "But we don't want the LTTE to come to Tamil Nadu," he added. Ramdas, who supports the LTTE campaign for independence, also asked Prime Minister Vajpayee to "undertake a thorough review of India's relations with Sri Lanka. **"The passive attitude adopted by successive (Indian) governments towards Sri Lanka has not helped resolve the ethnic problem."**

# U.S. Judge's ruling concedes the right to support LTTE

By Martha Bellisle Associated Press Writer Monday, June 15, 1998;

**LOS ANGELES (AP) — The U.S. government cannot prevent humanitarian activists from helping two foreign groups designated as terrorist organizations, a federal judge ruled Monday.**

U.S. District Judge Audrey B. Collins ruled that the U.S. State and Justice departments cannot stop groups from providing personnel and training to either the Kurdistan Workers' Party in Turkey or the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka.

But to the disappointment of the plaintiffs, the judge did not overturn the ban on material aid. She also did not change the law's ban on contributions of weapons, explosives, lodging or false identity papers.

**The Humanitarian Law Project and seven other plaintiffs supporting the Turkish and Sri Lankan groups sued March 19, claiming the Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 violated First Amendment rights.**

Collins ruled that certain terms of the anti-terrorism law were ``impermissibly vague."

She specifically declared as unenforceable the section of the law that makes it a crime to provide ``personnel" and ``training" to groups designated as terrorist organizations.

In October 1997, 30 groups were designated as terrorist groups.

Nancy Chang, one of the attorneys for the plaintiffs, said she was happy that Judge Collins had in effect struck down the "training and personnel" provisions of the law " at least in the case of the plaintiffs " but said the "materials" decision, which denies financial support of the organisations, would be appealed to a higher court. "It was a mixed decision for us. On one hand we won, on the other we lost," she told Reuters.

Legal analysts said the ruling could impact not just sympathisers of the Kurds and Tamils, but other U.S. groups who support various branded "terrorist organisations."

**David Cole, a professor at Georgetown University Law Centre in Washington said, "The Anti-terrorism law violates a cardinal principle of the First Amendment (the right to free speech) " it imposes guilt by association rather than on the basis of one"s acts. "The Anti-terrorism law makes it a crime to send blankets to a refugee relief centre, not because doing so causes any harm, but simply because the government has designated the group that runs the centre as "terrorist.""** ❑

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# Brigadier Larry Wijeratna: The dark side of the man

On 14 May 1998, the Sri Lankan military's 'Co-ordinating officer for Civil Administration' in Vadamaratchchi, Brigadier Larry Wijeratne, was killed in what appears to be a Black Tiger bomb attack. He was returning from a farewell function hosted by by some businessmen, when he died.

Although the Sri Lankan government has since been singing the praises of Brig. Wijeratne, claiming he was a popular commander amongst the Point Pedro public, people have other stories about him as well. So was he truly the 'Saint of Vadamaratchchi'?

After the Sri Lankan Army's Operation Riverasa -III (in which the army occupied the Jaffna peninsula) Wijeratne took over the position of the military Co-ordinating Officer for Vadamaratchchi (essentially, he was responsible for pacifying the captured Tamil populace there).

Wijeratne's wide ranging experience with the Sri Lankan military's intelligence section, particularly in psychological operations, made him a sophisticated commander for the role.

Prior to his Jaffna posting, Wijeratne had served in the Eastern province. Some readers may remember the notorious Kokkodichcholai massacre in 1991, in which scores of Tamil civilians were systematically slaughtered over several hours. That savage act of retribution was masterminded under Wijeratne's command.

This is part of an eyewitness account of what happened in Kokkadichcholai on 12 June 1991.

*Brigadier Larry Wijeratna*

"Vyramathu Santhanapillai's daughter-in-law and Alahipodi Kunamani's granddaughter, Ponnamma, were beaten while protecting her baby. Alahipodi Kunamani's son, Kumarasingam Shanthilingam had been married for 4 months. He and his wife were in Sempar's compound. The young couple were among those dragged to the mill and shot.

Vijayakumari (19) was shot in the leg by soldiers while running away. Her mother Theivanai was at the mill with her 1 year old child. Both Theivanai and the child were among those killed.

Among those killed in the mill, was a mother suckling her infant. Evidently, the mother gave the infant her breast in order to quieten it in the tense surroundings, when the end came."

More than 120 Tamil civilians were butchered by the Sinhala Army on that day in revenge for the killing of 2 soldiers. The massacre went on for 4 hours. Many women were raped before being murdered. The perpetrators of this inhuman act have never been brought to justice.

Wijeratne, the mass murderer in the East, came to Vadamaratchchi with a pleasant face.

For some in Vadamaratchchi, Wijeratne was indeed a Saint. For those whom Wijeratne facilitated the opening of bars for illicit liquor, for those who dealt in narcotics as the police looked away, and for those who ran mini theatres showing blue films under army protection, for such elements which destroy the fabric of civil society, he truly must have been a 'Saint'. Similarly, for those who make huge profits on black market trade with the army's help, Wijeratne must have been a 'Saint'.

In short, by understanding the weaknesses of some citizens, Wijeratne exploited them and built a support base for himself 'amongst the public'. To deceive the general public Wijeratne 'brought' electricity to Vadamaratchchi. No small matter that the Sri Lankan forces themselves had severed electricity to the region years earlier.

Vadamaratchchi is the LTTE Leader Prabhakaran's home town. So high priority was given by the Sri Lankan military to convert people's hearts and minds in that particular town. More concessions were given to Vadamaratchchi, thanks to Wijeratne's efforts.

Wijeratne also created Citizens' Committees in Vadamaratchchi and attended every monthly meeting they held. All the petty demands issued by the (largely powerless) Citizens' Committee were met.

Furthermore, a patronising scheme was introduced to impress the Committee and convince it that it wielded true influence. Permits for travel to Colombo were issued to people whom the Citizens' Committee recommended. Wijeratne would flatteringly say, "I am giving the permit just because I trust you all and your recommendation".

However, without the Citizens' Committee's knowledge the applicant would still be thoroughly checked. If there was the slightest suspicion about someone, the permit would still be given, but an order would be despatched to ensure that the traveller was arrested in Colombo. This was Wijeratne's style.

When innocent people in Jaffna were arrested at random by the Sri Lankan Army, the Citizen's Committee would rush to Wijeratne. Wijeratne would immediately release the people whom the Citizen's Committee named. Wijeratne would paternally advice those released "You are all good people, you have done wrong things unknowingly; I was also young like you; so I can understand; please be good in future".

But Wijeratne's military intelligence group would watch those released for several weeks. Then one night, the soldiers would come, masquerading as Liberation Tigers and apprehend the former detainees for 'inquiries'. Those arrested never return home. The story put about is they have gone off with the Tigers. But in reality, they would have gone into the unmarked pits in Anaivilunthan, Valipuram or Manatkadu.

It is believed that more than a thousand innocent men and women from Alvai, Thikkam, Polykandy, Illanthaikadu, Karanavai, Karavetti, Thunnalai, Thumpalai and Puloly have been disappeared this way, under Wijeratne's command.

Recently a young woman was raped in Pt. Pedro by Sri Lankan soldiers inside a shop and the female shop owner who was an eyewitness to this rape was subsequently burned alive after her head was covered by a pot by soldiers who appeared at the shop.

The Citizen's Committee made a complaint to Wijeratne. He duly apologised and promised to take action. But in fact this heinous act was committed by the Wijeratne's own military intelligence group and it is Wijeratne himself who ordered the witness destroyed in order to avoid ongoing publicity problems from another rape case in Jaffna.

These are some of Wijeratne's heroic deeds which never came to light. This and many other facts about this 'Saint of Vadamaratchchi' will come to light when the pits in Vadamaratchchi are dug up again.

Wijeratne opened his account with Tamil people in Kokkodichcholai, in the East. His account was settled in Point Pedro, in the North, when he was just about to leave Vadamaratchchi to take up a post in Colombo.

Tributes to Wijeratne will continue in Colombo. Colombo's grief shows the scale of the loss caused by Wijeratne's death. And as for other military commanders in Jaffna, Wijeratne's death will serve as a warning to leave the people alone.

*- Arundathi Balasubramaniyam*

❑❑❑

# The Singing Colonel from Stoke-on-Trent

A HOT SPRING reader from Woodcock Hill,Kenton, Harrow, U.K., who prefers to sign off as "A somewhat jealous "House-Husband" sends us this note:

"There are many among the Tamil Diaspora world-wide who would have read the articles written by Lieut.Col.Anton Selvadurai. Many consider him to be an original thinker and enjoy reading his writings full of optimism and written in his own unique style. But few know of his singing talents as a high-class tenor of popular and light classical songs. His younger brother Stephen in Toronto is also a popular tenor and it seems to run in the family. The colonel sang recently at the annual fundraising lunch of the Tamil Association at Stourbridge to much applause. He sang songs from "HOUSEWIVES CHOICE" made famous by Nat King Cole and Tony Bennett which made the housewives present very happy. Even the "house-husbands" enjoyed it.

"We hope Colonel Anton will haye an opportunity to sing more often and give much pleasure to the Tamil diaspora in years to come". ❑

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# "Yield with grace which cannot be held with authority"

**Lt.Col.Anton J.N. Selvadurai**

Whereas the 29-year-old Northern Ireland problem now seems to be getting resolved our similar ethnic problem is careering on after 50 years of Independence and 15 years of war. Regrettably the lessons learnt in the Northern Ireland issue will not be followed by Sri Lanka, as they do not seem to accept a change of attitude which is the crux of the solution. Chandrika still says that we must end the war by unifying our fractured land. Everywhere in the world countries and nations have been formed by fracturing into separate independent units. The continent of Europe is full of separate independent countries with their own language and culture and religion. Obviously what she means is Sri Lanka for the Sinhalese majority only after militarily defeating the Tamil Army which is the LTTE.

## THE LESSONS FROM THE IRISH PROBLEM

A. There can be no successful negotiation unless there is a change of attitude. The Sinhalese must first accept that Tamils are a separate nation which is a historical fact. It is this major change in historical attitudes that made it possible for the 29-year-old problem.

B. Legislation amending territorial claim to Northern Ireland is to be enacted. The Irish Republic will hold a referendum on amending the country's constitution, which now claims the territory of Northern Ireland as the heritage of a once unified island. Likewise the Sinhalese should accept that the North East of the island does not belong to Sri Lanka but to the Tamils of Tamil Eelam. Tamil Eelam has been the home of Tamils long before the arrival of the Sinhalese, and was the home of King Ravana as depicted in the ancient chronicle Ramayana which is well over 2,500 years old. Therefore the repealing of the 6th Amendment of the Constitution should be a necessary prerequisite for negotiations.

## THE LONG TERM IS MORE IMPORTANT

Many changes are taking place all over the world. Some have been caused by nature-floods, draught and earthquakes, but most of the changes have been man made. The economic crises has been due to bad management and greed and has affected many countries in the East like Korea, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia and even Japan. If Sri Lanka does not take the appropriate steps, rioting will occur in Sri Lanka too, when the public realise the futility of the war and its effect on their quality of life. There would be an implosion forcing the government to halt the war. Many sense that the time for it is fast approaching, especially with Fascist movements like Revd. Sobitha Theros National Action against Terrorism which completely ignores state terrorism against the Tamil and the Communal holocaust of August 1983, and insists on all Tamil politicians being imprisoned etc. Such irrational attitudes could never bring about peace and the government continues to ignore people like him instead of using the law against terrorism to stop him and his organisation from harassing and terrorising the Tamils. He should be made to confine himself to the temple and beg for alms and shave his head. Instead, the government gives Nayaka Theros Mercedes Benz cars to travel in.

*Rev. Sobitha Thero: The face of Sinhala Buddhist Fascism.*

The government must not let it be dictated to by the Buddhist Maha Sangha, which should be the starting point of any reformation and the changing attitudes, which is a necessary prerequisite for peace.

## THIRD PARTY INVOLVEMENT

When two people quarrel there has to be mediation by a disinterested third party. In civilian life it is the Judge or a Justice of the Peace that mediates because he or she is not personally involved and is disinterested in the case. Similar things take place among nations too, and are the best way of resolving the problem in fair manner. In the case of Northern Ireland, Senator George Mitchell from the US was involved in the mediation process but in Sri Lanka is avoiding this is due to a guilty conscience because it is an obvious fact that the Sinhalese started the ethnic problem and forced the Tamils to take up arms and demand separation due to state Terrorism. Any mediator will want the government forces to withdraw and accept separate Tamil nationality as opposed to a unitary state. The mediator would advocate separation as the only method of separating the two nations who are unable to live under the same roof. like in an incompatible marriage leading to a divorce. The two communities have intermarried and are socially incompatible and are therefore, in foreign places away from the ethnic politics of Sri Lanka where greedy and ambitious politicians and extremists have created the problem. The problem has been compounded by the Maha Sangha who insists on the ruling class paying obiesance to them, like in times of yore.

> *"While Irish eyes are smiling, Tamil eyes are weeping"*

## WISDOM MUST PREVAIL AND HUMANITY IS GREAT

The Republic of Ireland got its independence when wisdom prevailed in Whitehall to yield with grace that which could not be retained with authority. It was on this principle that the British Empire had to free its colonies starting with India. The British used their wisdom and saved a lot of lives and bother.

In Sri Lanka, the Sinhala majority having been overtaken by a false sense of history and 'Mahavamsa thinking' and having committed themselves to evict the Tamils, are now unable to swallow that pride and accept gracefully that what they did was wrong. The Germans have apologised to the Jews and the Japanese to the Koreans, and I don't see any harm in the Sinhalese giving in to the just demands of the Tamils, who are not asking for apologies. All they want is to live in freedom in their own homes, in their homeland in the North East of the island, where they have lived from time immemorial.

Will the people of the Lion rise to the occasion and show greatness in a Buddhist way? No! We now have serious reports of a planned ethnic cleansing in Trincomalee by the army with the proposal to build a giant refugee camp and the deployment of 7,000 armed civilians who would drive the Tamils out and supplant them with Sinhalese settlers like what they did in Manal Aru (Weli Oya).

So while Irish Eyes are Smiling, Tamil Eyes are Weeping. If I was Sinhalese I would weep with guilt and the shame of the collective responsibility of my people who have done the Tamils of Eelam wrong. ❑

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## Suresh case: Continuation of Karen Parker's testimony

# War Crimes & Terrorists Acts

*(Continued from previous issues of Hot Spring)*

Karen Parker

**Q.** The allegation against Mr. Suresh is membership in an organization that is engaged in terrorism?

**A.** *M'hmm.*

**Q.** In your understanding of international law, can the incidents that are listed in that appendix be described as "terrorism"?

**A.** *No.*

**Q.** Can you explain why not?

**A.** *They are events that occurred in the course of an armed conflict govemed by the Geneva Conventions and in exercise of the principle of self-determination. Therefore, they must be looked at and analyzed under the applicable Rules of both the Hague Convention, customary Hague law and the Geneva Conventions and customary Geneva law.*

In the Federal Court of Canada :
The Manickavasagam Suresh
inquiry held before
Mr. Justice Teitelbaum
March 21 1996.

**Q.** So, some of the incidents, purportedly, because there is no admission that they actually occurred, but based upon the list, purportedly involve attacks upon civilians?

HIS LORDSHIP: But, she just said it is not a perfectly legitimate thing. That is what this witness just said.

MR. WALDMAN: No, I don't think

HIS LORDSHIP: That is what she just said. You asked, you read the list and that is what she answered

MR. WALDMAN: Yes, okay, she said they weren't terrorism.

HIS LORDSHIP: That is right, they were not terrorist acts.

THE WITNESS: *There were not terrorist. It doesn't mean they are okay.*

HIS LORDSHIP: Attacks on civilians

MR. WALDMAN: Are not terrorism.

HIS LORDSHIP: is not a terrorist act.

MR. WALDMAN: That is what I am saying. I was going to take the next question, My Lord. She said that they weren't terrorism. Are attacks on civilians permitted...unarmed civilians not incidental to military targets permitted under the international rules of war?

**A.** *No.*

HIS LORDSHIP: For people who are looking for self-determination?

THE WITNESS: *No. Under no circumstances, in any kind of war, may civilians be the target of military operations. MR. WALDMAN: Directed at.*

HIS LORDSHIP: But, this is not a terrorist act?

BY_MR WALDMAN:

**Q.** If it is not a terrorist act, what is it?

**A.** *It is a violation of the rules of war and it is subject to being brought to tribunal for violations of the rules of war which could be at the level of war crime.*

**Q.** So, if these acts are not terrorist acts, do you have an understanding of what would be a terrorist act under international law?

**A.** *The bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma is a terrorist act. It was unrelated to an armed conflict. The perpetrators were not combatants in an armed conflict, they are not triable under Geneva Convention or Hague Rules as war criminals.*

HIS LORDSHIP: So, that is a criminal act?

THE WITNESS: *it is a terrorist act,*

yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: Terrorist act.

BY MR. WALDMAN:

**Q.** It is a criminal act and a terrorist act.

**A.** *The bombing of the bar in Munich with the American soldiers stationed there was a terrorist act.*

**Q** . Why?

**A.** *Because, it was an attack against people who had no relationship to any issue or cause of the people carrying out the act. its whole point was to instil terror or to...it was not carried out by people protected by the Geneva Conventions or obligated under the Geneva Conventions against a party or even a third party in armed conflict, and it took place in a country that wasn't involved in any war with anybody.*

**Q.** So, in your opinion, then, if a...let me just ask another follow-up question. We have heard evidence about insurgencies. In your view, has the situation in Sri Lanka reached the point where it can be considered at least an insurgency?

**A.** *If you are talking about what I refer to as the antiquated Rules of Civil War, you talk about a state of siege, state of insurgency, state of belligerency and all kinds of vocabulary that used to exist before we had relatively clear rules under the Civil War Rules in international law.*

**Q .** Yes.

**A.** *Because I described the war in Sri Lanka as a war of self-determination, the civil war language is not relevant. Yet, if we were to at least concede it is a civil war in Sri Lanka, putting aside the whole question of self determination, I would say that the minimum criteria for application of Common Article 3 to the Geneva Conventions and Protocol II are clearly met, the test being not this sort of siege, state of belligerency, state of whatever, but now the test is there is am armed conflict occurring between government forces, meaning military forces. It has to look like...you know, the Sri Lankan military has to be out there, not some riot police. Military forces and opposition armed forces who, under responsible command, exercise sufficient control over territory so as to be able to engage in sustained and concerted military operations, the word "military" is extremely important in that...*

> *"There are five kinds of armed conflicts"*

**Q.** So...

**A.** *..and in that sense, clearly since 1983, the LTTE, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have met that test. So, if we were talking about the situation in Sri Lanka as one of a civil war, then that is relevant.*

**Q.** Because, there are two ways of looking at it, I think, and in either way, the same result occurs that the rules of war apply, the Common Articles apply, so...

**A.** *Yes. From one point of view, from calling it a war, it...the humanitarian law rules are still in effect and so all the events listed in that appendix all have to be looked at from the point of view of humanitarian law, whether it is civil war rules or selfdeterminafion rules, so to speak, under international humanitarian law. Remember, the International Court of Justice in its Nicaragua opinion in 1986, in a way said it almost doesn't matter because in any armed conflict, at least the minimum of Common Article 3 must hold. So, whether you call it this kind or that kind, the ICJ, International Court of Justice gave us a very clear, at least minimum humanitarian law principles that must apply in any war.*

HIS LORDSHIP: Please forgive me. You said, "whether you call it one kind or another kind," what are the two kinds?

THE WITNESS: *Actually, there are now considered five kinds of armed conflict.*

HIS LORDSHIP: Please tell me.

THE WITNESS: *Country A versus country B, classic war. Classic wars are governed by the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conventions, et cetera. One country against another country.*

*There is civil war, classic civil war and the Geneva Convention CommonArticle 3 was viewed as governing civil-war. That is as I just described, when there is an armed conflict in a country between its armed forces and opposition-armed forces who, under responsible command, et cetera.*

HIS LORDSHIP: That is the situation, you would say, between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Army?

THE WITNESS: *I say that is not the situation*

HIS LORDSHIP: That is not the situation.

THE WITNESS: *but that was the situation in El Salvador.*

HIS LORDSHIP: No, I am more concerned about the situaton in Sri Lanka.

THE WITNESS: *No, I would not say that. But, that is a second type of war.*

HIS LORDSHIP: All right, so...

THE WITNESS: *So, we have a classic country A versus country B. Then we have classic civil war.*

HIS LORDSHIP: Yes?

THE WITNESS: *One side against another and the humanitarian law that is generally applied has been customary and then with the promulgation of Common Article 3 in 1949 it was viewed as a Common Article 3 conflict. Because of the pervasiveness of apartheid and some of the other problems in the decolonization process and in part motivated by Vietnam and the Vietnam War, the international community promulgated Protocol Additional I to the Geneva Convention which applies in wars of self-determination, specifically, and it says so in its title. So, that is...*

BY MR. WALDMAN:

**Q.** And that is what we have, in your opinion, in...

**A.** *In my view, that is the situation in Sri Lanka now. So, it is governed by customary humanitarian law principles and the Geneva Conventions applied in a situation where both parties to the conflict are theoretically in the same country, except the country may not really be as large as it thinks it is.*

*That protocol also applies to what we call racist regimes.*

*So, it is also possible to talk about the legitimacy of the resistance from the Sinhala regime because it is racist, even if you don't want to go as far as saying there is a right to selfdetermination of the Tamil people. But, all of this is basically incorporated into Protocol Additional I type armed conflict.*

*Then there is Protocol Additional II armed conflict which is a civil war in which the government has ratified Protocol II, frankly, because Protocol II is a much thicker...has many more rules than Common Article 3. So, countries that have ratified Protocol II and are in a civil war situation need to be reviewed from the entirety of Protocol II as was El Salvador.*

*Then, we also have what we call internationalized internal armed conflict.*

**Q.** But, that is not relevant to the case here; is it?

**A.** *Not relevant to this.*

MR. WALDMAN: Unless Your Lordship...okay.

THE WITNESS: *But, it was when the Indian peacekeeping force was there.*

> *"All armies violate the Geneva conventions to a certain degree, but the Government of Sri Lanka is an extremely troubling violator"*

BY MR. WALDMAN

**Q.** That is right, there was a period of time when in Sri Lanka there would have been an internationalized conflict because...

**A.** *The presence of Indian troops in Sri Lanka fighting.*

**Q.** I don't think it is relevant. Now, you have read the list...

**A.** *Yes.*

**Q.**.of acts by the...

HIS LORDSHIP: The alleged acts.

BY MR WALDMAN:

**Q.** The alleged acts by the Tigers.

**In your knowledge, has the government of Sri Lanka engaged in violations of the rules of war in terms of its conduct of the struggle against the Tamil Tigers?**

**A.** *Well, it is true that actually all armies that I have ever viewed or reviewed in the field or with records violate the Geneva Conventions at least to some degree. The government of Sri Lanka is an extremely, extremely troubling violator.*

**Q. And what are some examples of those violations?**

**A.** *Repeated attacks on the civilian population, places of worship, shelters*

HIS LORDSHIP: Where are you getting all this evidence from?

THE WITNESS: *From*

HIS LORDSHIP: I mean, you are making statements. I would just like to know where you got them. I am not saying that they are incorrect. I just you know, because what was placed before you are acts supposedly committed by the LTTE, not the Sri Lankan government and now the question put to you is about acts committed by the Sri Lankan government which may well have taken place, but I want to know where you get this information from, please?

MR. WALDMAN: Perhaps I could just give...I have to find...I have some of the...

HIS LORDSHIP: Because, the issue before me, Mr. Waldman, as you can well understand, is not whether or not Sri Lanka did or did not commit acts of...I would say terrorist acts or criminal acts or...I am sorry, what is the proper term?

THE WITNESS: *War crimes.*

HIS LORDSHIP: War crimes. That is not the issue. The issue is whether or not Mr. Suresh is a member of a "terrorist organization" that has committed acts of "terrorism."

MR. WALDMAN: The purpose for the question, and I will be quite blunt, is: The evidence of the witness is that when you reach a certain level in a war of self-determination there is a level of equality in terms of the applicability of the rules of war. If the . . .

HIS LORDSHIP: Oh, I see what you are saying. You are saying

MR. WALDMAN: if the government of Sri Lanka

HIS LORDSHIP: if one side uses terror and creates, I am going to use terrorist acts for the purposes of our discussion now, then the other side is allowed to; is that what you are saying?

MR. WALDMAN: NO, that is not the point of the...no.

HIS LORDSHIP: Oh, okay.

BY MR WALDMAN:

**Q. It is exactly the opposite. The violations of the rules of war by the government of Sri Lanka, are they terrorist acts?**

**A.** *No.*

**Q. What are they?**

**A.** *War crimes.*

**Q.** Has any government been accused of terrorism in international, per se, as you understand it or are they traditionally charged with war crimes if they violate the rules of war?

**A.** *The current government of Iran has been under review as engaging in terrorism by supposedly funding and orchestrating persons to go into third countries and explode* *bombs.*

**Q.** But, in terms of breaches of the rules of war in an internal conflict, such as we have in Sri Lanka, are those breaches committed by the government ever characterized as terrorism?

**A.** *No.*

**Q.** If the two sides are on equal footing, in your view, can you characterize acts committed by the belligerents, the insurgents or the people seeking selfdetermination as terrorists?

**A.** No.

**Q.** That is the point of the question.

MR. WALDMAN: I think I have finished.

HIS LORDSHIP: Are you ready for cross examination?

MR. VAILLANCOURT: I can surely start, My Lord. I can start.

HIS LORDSHIP: Please.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY_MR VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** Were you saying that it is your estimate, opinion, that this conflict in Sri Lanka falls with Protocol II?

**A.** *No, it does not fall within Protocol11.*

**Q.** It falls under what?

**A.** *It is a war of self-determination. It is a war of national liberation and an exercise of the right to self-determination. It is also a war against a racist regime and under that analysis it would fall under Protocol I.*

**Q.** I see. I just want to take you through your...do you have a copy of your document...

HIS LORDSHIP: Which one?

MR. VAILLANCOURT: ...which I would like to refer...has it been...

HIS LORDSHIP: Nothing has been filed as yet as an exhibit. I assume, Mr. Waldman, you want to file the biographical sketch of Ms. Parker as an exhibit?

MR. WALDMAN: I think I handed up a

HIS LORDSHIP: No, I understand. But, first of all, we are on the biographical sketch. Do you want to file that or not?

MR. WALDMAN: Yes, the biographical sketch, yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: That will be S18? Just a moment, please.

MR. VAILLANCOURT: S18, which is the CV?

HIS LORDSHIP: Biographical sketch of the witness.

MR. VAILLANCOURT: Thank you.

EXHIBIT NO S18: Curriculum vitae of Karen Parker

HIS LORDSHIP: Mr. Waldman, you handed up a paper entitled "Human Rights, Humanitarian Law And The Tamil National Struggle..." et cetera, by this witness.

*(To concluded in the next issue)*

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# Who says marriages are made only in Heaven?

## They are made at THE MEETING POINT too!

On the 17th May this year, a large number of concerned Tamil parents met together at a place in Tooting in London. They were men and women, who despite their expatriate existence, were conscious of their roots, and sharing a common concern about the future of their progeny. At that meeting they inaugurated an organisation called THE MEETING POINT. What is it all about ? A Press release from the founders explains the motivation and objectives of the organisation:

"The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora has in recent years spread to many different countries in the World - to the UK, to America, Canada, Australia, and all over Europe. As a result, contacts between those who were previously friends and neighbours back home have become almost non-existent. The hardships and pressures in trying to establish ourselves in our new country of residence have made matters even more difficult.

"Many young men and women of marriageable age are therefore faced with difficulties in finding suitable partners in their own community.

"THE MEETING POINT was inaugurated in London on 17th May at a meeting attended by a large number of Tamil parents. THE MEETING POINT will operate as a voluntary organisation manned by a few respectable elderly persons who are keen to serve the community by helping parents find suitable marriage partners for their sons and daughters. These volunteers understand the nature of this exercise and will ensure utmost care and discretion in divulging information of individuals.

"THE MEETING POINT will also organise events such as parties and forums where young people will have opportunities to meet and get to know each other in a leisurely atmosphere. Suggestions, help, and contributions are most welcome.

"Parents/ Guardians/Friends, desiring to seek a partner for a girl/boy, are welcome to make an application to THE MEETING POINT. Applicants are also welcome to visit the office of THE MEETING POINT by prior appointment. "

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# The Cheekiness of Youth & the Mellowness of Old Age

This is a case of a young woman's fancy and an old woman's philosophy.

The picture on the left was taken at the Inner City World Cup promotions day on the 30-31 May in London, where an Eelam Tamil football team took part among representatives of several world nations. The picture on the right comes by courtesy of Sunday THINAKKURAL, the Colombo-published Tamil newspaper of 14th June. While millions of people are going mad over a World Cup Football day by day, this old lady is searching for the Eternal Truths within the pages of the Bhagavad Gita. ❑

# BHARATHA NATYA ARANGETRAM IN GERMANY

*From a special correspondent*

The Bharatha-Natya Arangetram of **Anita Miruthula Rajakumaran** of Mulheim, Germany, took place at the Heinrich Heine Gym. Hall, Mulhei merstr, Oberhausen, on 28th March 1998 attended by an impressive gathering comprising Tamil expatriate families as well as those of Germans. It was one of the spectacular Arangetrams seen recently in that country.

The performance started with the invocatory items, viz., traditional lighting of the lamp, the Pooja to Lord Nadarajah, the dance deity, followed by Pushpaanjali by the Danseuse to that deity and later paying respects to her Guru and her parents, Rajakumaran and Yamuna.

She is the pupil disciple of the able tutor and genius Kalai-Maamani Veeramany Iyer of Jaffha. Miruthula was the eighth student to have graduated under this talented and dedicated teacher Savithiri.

Miruthula depicted 14 different aspects (pieces) of the various art forms of this Eastern Culture, Bharatha Natyam. The whole programme which the audience enjoyed with rapt attention culminated with the piece Kurathi (Gypsy) Dance. This dance was different from the usual stereotyped form in that it depicted the woeful sufferings of the Tamil population back in their homeland, and foresaw their emancipation in the near future.

Kannan of Germany sang the songs for all the pieces while Guru Savithiri did the Natuvangam with the symbal and recited the Jathis. Miruthula reciprocated by her flawless footwork and her remarkable facial expressions to suit the meaning of the songs. All the songs were in Tamil, a noteworthy feature. The dance for the Navarasa song was her speciality in which her depiction of the various (nine) Bhavas was marvellous. She received a thundering applause for this item, and that deservedly.

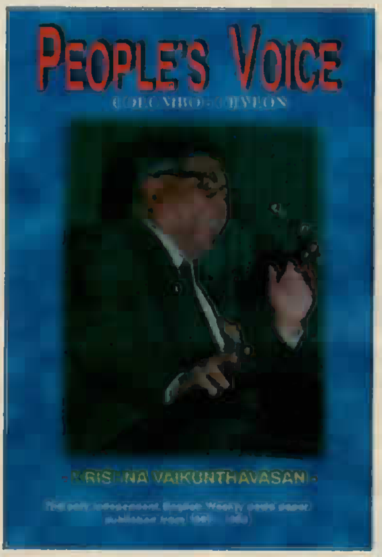
The orchestra artistes consisted of Kannan (pupil of Pon. Suntheralingam) vocal and Savithiri Natuvangam; S PiranavaChu. Rathakrishnan (from Madras) Violin;

Tabla. The show was compered by S Valantine (in Tamil) and Subashini Kalainathan (in German language). All did their parts admirably, and it was a scintillating evening of entertainment.

❑ ❑ ❑

Krishna Vaikunthavasan's

# PEOPLE'S VOICE



People's Voice was an independent weekly newspaper published in the early 1950s in Sri Lanka, then called Ceylon. The paper came out from Colombo, edited by Krishna Vaikunthavasan who was earlier Secretary General of the Ceylon Government Clerical Service Union, before destiny led him into legal studies and to qualify as a barrister. This 148-page book is a collection of a selection of its editorials written during the period 19th January to 22nd May 1953.

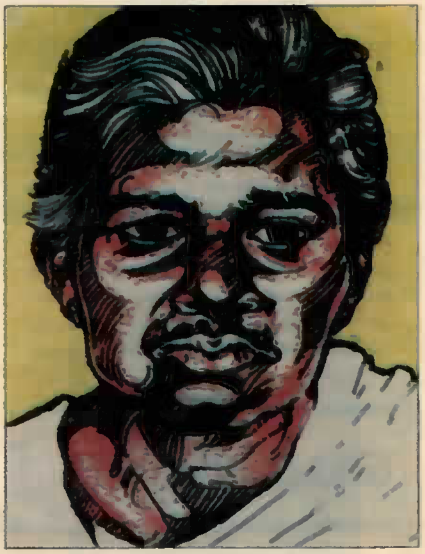
The book brings to the reader nostalgic memories of an island that antedate the painful picture that the country presents today; memories of Left-orientated political and trade union stalwarts of the era before the country got sucked into racism and the ruinous war of today: men like Trade Union martyr Kandasamy, K.C.Nythiananda, A.R.Asirwatham, P.Kandiah, M.Karthigesan, N.Shanmugathasan, A.Vaidilingam, T.Duraisingam... Tamils whose contribution to Left politics and Trade Unionism was immense. Vaikunthavasan himself was one of them.

Prof. Kopan Mahadeva writes: "I recommend this book to all Sri Lankans and Eelamists who are interested in the political history of the Island; that is, in fact, to each and everyone in the contemporary context - both young and old citizens, political activists, expatriates, emigrees, refugees, and students of Sri Lankan politics."Copies of the book can be obtained from : 55, Warren Road, Colliers Wood, London SW19 2HY, at £3.50 per copy.

# Eelam Tamils in Europe: Oslo, Zurich

*May Day was observed by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in several countries in Europe. Pictures show a May Day rally in Oslo, Norway (left) and the one held in Zurich, Switzerland*

## Tamil martyr Annai Poopathy remembered



*Annai Poopathy.*

Annai (Mother) Poopathy (Poopathy Kanapathipillai) of Batticaloa who went on a death fast ten years ago in protest at the Indian army occupation of the Tamil homeland and died after 30 days , was remembered on her death anniversary in Lausanne,Switzerland. She was the first woman in world history who gave up her life on a death fast as part of a liberation struggle.

Picture on the right shows a scene from a stage performance given by pupils of the "Thirukoneswara Nadanalaya " dance troupe. Above is a scene from a drama presented by the Berne drama group.

அன்னை பூபதி
எழுச்சி விழா

# 400 Sri Lankan soldiers killed, and 2,000 wounded, says UNP leader

Sri Lankan government forces lost more than 400 soldiers killed and 2,000 wounded in the latest round of fighting in the north. Opposition leader Ranil Wicremasinghe told parliment on the June 12. Wicremasinghe told parliment that the government had played down military losses at the hands of the Liberation Tigers over the previous eight days.

"At one army camp, they have buried about 30 soldiers and declared them as missing in action", he said.

The government figures of troops missing was also wrong, the opposition leader said.

Earlier, the Deputy Minister in charge of war operations, "General" Anuruddha Ratwatte made a partial admission by saying that at least 208 government soldiers were killed and at least 1,324 government soldiers were wounded in the fighting. Ratwatte also told parliment that two officers and 63 soldiers were missing.

Although the government had imposed censorship of local and foreign media reports on the war, the previous week, statements made in parliment are not subject to the order. ❑

# Obituaries

## Mrs.Kanagasabapathy

Mrs.Yogam Kanagasabapathy passed away after a brief illness in Colombo recently. She was 86.

She was the mother of Kanagendran M.K.Eelaventhan (India), Indraneee Sivanandan (Canada), Yogendran (UK), Balendra and Vijayaranee Shanmugaswamy (Sri Lanka). She leaves behind 14 grandchildren and 9 great grand children. Cremation took place in Colombo.

* * *

## Paulinus Tambimuttu

Paulinus Tambimuttu, scholar and historian, passed away in Colombo recently. He was the husband of late Loretta, father of late Freud and of Hedy and Dr.Neelan (UK), and Runi (UK), father-in-law of Aprille, Gilbert Charles, Chumpica (Canada) and R.Vigneswaran (UK).

Paulinus Tambimuutu was the younger brother of the famed Mary James Thurairajah Tambimuttu, Founder-Editor of London's popular literary journal "Poetry London" and friend of several British poets during the 40s.

Burial took place at General Cemetery, Kanatte, Colombo on Sunday May 31.

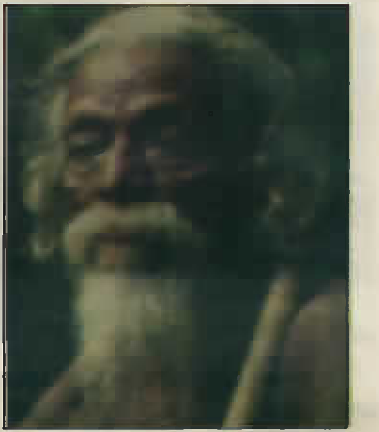
* * *

## Premnath Moraes

Premnath Moraes, veteran Colombo journalist, sports writer and film personality died in Colombo. He was 75. Burial took place at Jawatte on May 25.

* * *

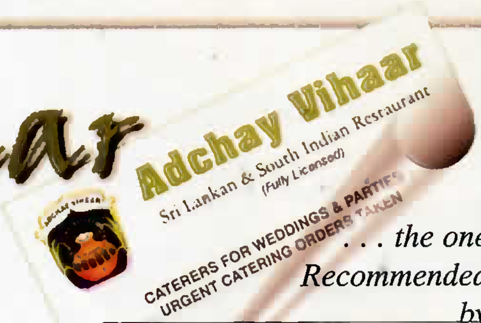
## Veddha chief Tissahamy



Tissahamy, chief of the Veddhas died on May 29 in the Veddha jungle settlement of Dambana in Sri Lanka. He was variously believed to be around the ages of 105 and 110. The Veddhas are the original inhabitants of the island, and descendants of a prehistoric hunting people. The veddhas have been gradually losing their identity because of assimilation with the Sinhalese and Tamils.

* * *

Adchay Vihaar



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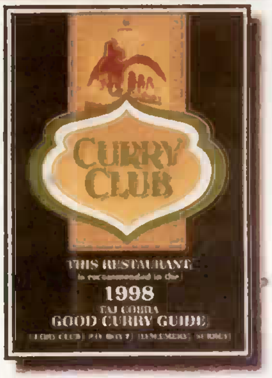

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# Tamil Sports Festival, London

## A DAY OUT FOR THE KIDS